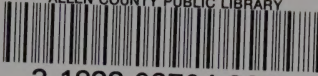


66

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02704 2834

Gc 929.102 J55j 1946
American Jewish Conference.
Proceedings of the ...
session

✓

The
American Jewish Conference

Proceedings of the Third Session

February 17-19, 1946

Cleveland, Ohio

Edited by
RUTH HERSHMAN

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

1946

Allen County Public Library
900 Webster Street
PO Box 2270
Fort Wayne, IN 46801-2270

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

COPYRIGHT, 1946

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



INTERIM COMMITTEE
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, *Honorary Chairman*

HENRY MONSKY, *Chairman*

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| *Jacob Alson | Sidney G. Kusworm |
| Dr. Moses Barron | Judge Louis E. Levinthal |
| *Dr. Philip S. Bernstein | Louis Lipsky |
| Maurice Bisgyer | *Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein |
| *Max Bressler | Rabbi Irving Miller |
| *Naomi Chertoff | Dr. Emanuel Neumann |
| *Mrs. David deSola Pool | Dr. Samuel Nirenstein |
| Rabbi William Drazin | Judge Nathan D. Perlman |
| *Aaron Droock | Harry A. Pine |
| Harry M. Ehrlich | *Chaplain W. Gunther Plaut |
| Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath | *Adolph Rosenberg |
| Mrs. Moses P. Epstein | *Mrs. Louis A. Rosett |
| *Jane Evans | Dvorah Rothbard |
| Mrs. Ida Cook Farber | Judge Morris Rothenberg |
| Dr. Simon Federbush | Samuel Rothstein |
| *Prof. Hayim Fineman | Rubin Saltzman |
| Harold O. N. Frankel | Benjamin Samuels |
| J. George Fredman | Louis Segal |
| Daniel Frisch | Ezra Z. Shapiro |
| Leon Gellman | Dr. Abba Hillel Silver |
| Frank Goldman | Edward S. Silver |
| Dr. Israel Goldstein | Simon E. Sobeloff |
| Mrs. Samuel Goldstein | Alex F. Stanton |
| Dr. Robert Gordis | Hermann Stern |
| Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin | *Theodore Strimling |
| Edgar J. Kaufmann | Robert Szold |
| *Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman | Ralph Wechsler |
| Max A. Kopstein | Mrs. Joseph M. Welt |
| Charles P. Kramer | David Wertheim |
| *Israel Kramer | Mrs. Stephen S. Wise |
| Dr. A. Leon Kubowitski | |

*Coopted.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LOUIS LIPSKY, *Chairman*

Jacob Alson
Aaron Droock
Harry M. Ehrlich
Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath
Jane Evans
Dr. Israel Goldstein
Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin
Dr. A. Leon Kubowitski

Jacob Marrus
Rabbi Irving Miller
*Henry Monsky
Samuel Rothstein
Alex F. Stanton
Hermann Stern
Robert Szold
**Dr. Stephen S. Wise

* *Ex-officio, as Chairman of the Interim Committee.*

** *Ex-officio, as Honorary Chairman of the Interim Committee.*

EDITOR'S NOTE

Throughout the war the Jewish people had been sustained by the hope that the cessation of hostilities would be followed by the emergence of a new world in which they would be granted their right to freedom, equality and justice. They visualized a peace conference which would come to grips with such problems as Jewish rehabilitation and the right of the Jewish people to Palestine. The American Jewish Conference was created by American Jews in response to the need both for common action on post-war problems and for presenting a unified front to the world. As spokesman of a united American Jewry, the Conference, it was believed, would be in a position to present forcefully its demands before the peace tribunal.

Events of the past nine months have, however, incontrovertibly proved that the peace can be won only by dint of much painful effort over a protracted period of time. The proceedings of the Third Session clearly reflect an awareness of the direction which post-war events have taken. Discussion at the Plenary Sessions and at the General Committee meetings revolved around the vital need for an over-all body, which could function not only during this protracted emergency period, when the attainment of Jewish rights is so crucial, but as a permanent bulwark to safeguard these rights for the future.

As in the *Proceedings of the Second Session*, the account of what transpired at the Plenary Meetings of the Third Session is rendered verbatim, while the committee meetings are summarized.

Valuable assistance was rendered in the preparation of this volume by members of the Conference staff. The editor acknowledges appreciation for the assistance of Sylvia Gilman, Ann Jarcho and Lillian Friedman, and of Matilda de Loys who typed the manuscript and helped with the technical work.

RUTH HERSHMAN

November, 1946.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| INTERIM COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE . . . | 3 |
| EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE | 4 |
| EDITOR'S NOTE | 5 |

PLENARY MEETINGS

| | |
|--|-----|
| FIRST PLENARY MEETING | 13 |
| Address by Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath—Election of Praesidium —Addresses by Ezra Z. Shapiro—Henry Monsky—Louis Lipsky | |
| SECOND PLENARY MEETING | 47 |
| Addresses by Professor Hayim Fineman—Dr. Israel Goldstein— Dr. Jacob Robinson | |
| THIRD PLENARY MEETING | 68 |
| Report of Committee on Credentials—Admission of New Or- ganizations—Address by Mrs. Moses P. Epstein—Debate on Future Organization | |
| FOURTH PLENARY MEETING | 125 |
| Addresses by Dr. Stephen S. Wise—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver—Dr. Zalman Grinberg (English and Yiddish)—Report of Palestine Committee | |
| FIFTH PLENARY MEETING | 161 |
| Addresses by Colonel Bernard Bernstein—Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein—Report of Post-War Committee—Report of Budget and Finance Committee—Message to Youth of Palestine | |
| SIXTH PLENARY MEETING | 183 |
| Report of Post-War Committee (continued)—Concluding Re- | |

marks by Henry Monsky—Tribute to the Late Herman Shulman—Closing of Third Session

COMMITTEES

| | |
|--|-----|
| GENERAL COMMITTEE | 193 |
| Praesidium and Secretariat—Subcommittee on Resolutions—Report of Credentials Committee—Admission of New Organizations—Discussion of Resolution on Future Organization—Report of Subcommittee on Resolution on Future Organization—Admission of New Organizations (continued)—Discussion of Resolution on Future Organization (continued)—Co-options to Interim Committee—Question of Organizational Statements | |
| COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION | 216 |
| Function of Committee—Discussion of Resolution on Future Organization—Debate on New Elections—Discussion on Structure of Next Session—Discussion of Resolution on Future Organization (continued) | |
| COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE | 226 |
| COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR PROBLEMS AND RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY | 226 |
| COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS | 226 |
| COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND FINANCE | 227 |
| CONFERENCE BULLETIN | 227 |

RESOLUTIONS

| | |
|--|-----|
| RESOLUTIONS ON ORGANIZATION | 231 |
| RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE | 233 |
| RESOLUTIONS ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION | 237 |
| RESOLUTION ON BUDGET AND FINANCE | 244 |

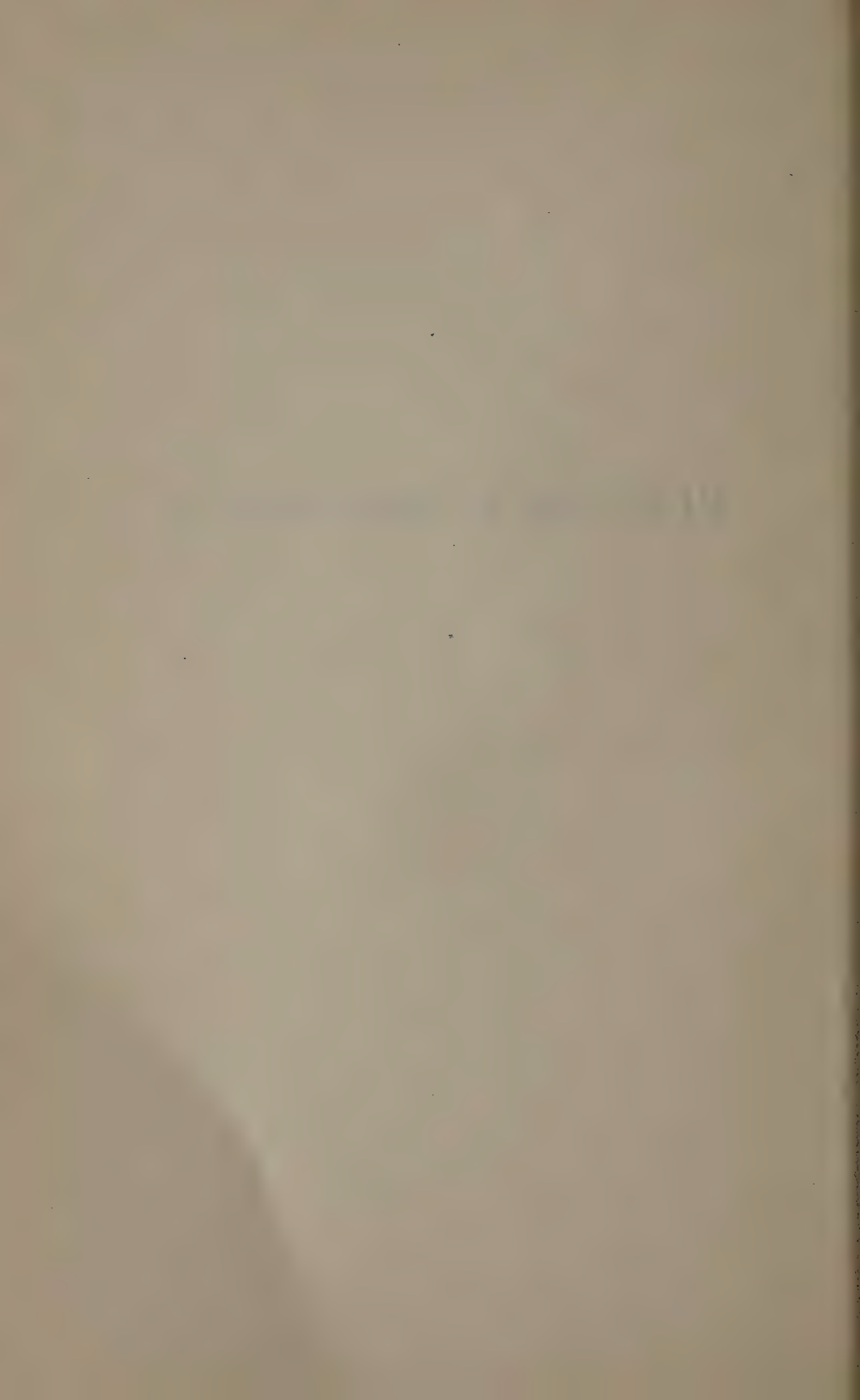
ROSTER OF DELEGATES

| | |
|---|-----|
| REGISTERED AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE | 247 |
|---|-----|

APPENDIX

| | |
|--|-----|
| National Jewish Organizations Participating in the Third Session | 259 |
| Rules of Procedure Concerning Delegates and Alternates | 260 |
| Rules of Procedure at the Third Session | 262 |
| Number of Delegates Elected in Each City and Region | 264 |
| Roster of Delegates Elected by City or Region or Designated by National Organizations | 268 |
| Blocs and Groups at the Third Session | 277 |
| Officers and Committees of the Third Session | 278 |
| Interim Committee Elected by the Third Session | 285 |
| INDEX | 287 |

PLENARY MEETINGS



PLENARY MEETINGS

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 17TH

Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, presiding

The Third Session of the American Jewish Conference was convened on Sunday, February 17, 1946, at 2:15 p.m., at the Hotel Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio.

Opening Address Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath

WILL this Third Session of the American Jewish Conference please come to order. Fellow delegates, brother Jews: I deem it a rare privilege as Vice-Chairman of the General Committee to call this Third Session of the American Jewish Conference to order. I know we all join in the prayer that our deliberations here will be crowned with rich and fruitful achievement.

Barely fifteen months have passed since we, the delegates to this significant and most representative American Jewish Conference, gathered in plenary session in Pittsburgh. Little more than a year has gone by, and yet I hazard the guess that never before has so much history been packed into so brief a period of time as during those fifteen months that have just passed: the premature passing of the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, friend of Israel and of all the oppressed and heavy-laden; the long-prayed-for victory over our fiendish foes, many of whom have perished while others are even now cringing and cowering before the bar of inexorable justice. Our prayers do ascend unto God on high in humble thanksgiving that our sons, and our daughters too, are now returning from the bloody carnage.

And yet, though our hearts are filled with joy over the triumph of our arms, nonetheless, there are misgivings. A strange malaise and dissatisfac-

tion and disappointment have seized hold of some of us as we begin to question whether—even though the war is over—the peace is won, whether the Four Freedoms for which supposedly we fought have been attained. True enough, freedom of speech and freedom of worship have been restored to great numbers of men who for so many years were held in the bonds of tyranny and totalitarianism. But insofar as our brother Jews are concerned, freedom of speech has been given back only to six million voiceless, speechless ghosts; freedom of worship to six million seared and mouldering skeletons rotting amid the rubble of synagogues and *yeshivas*, ruthlessly destroyed by our enemy. And there is precious little freedom from want for the pitiful and pathetic remnant of our fellow Jews in Europe. Like the cumulative calamity which the Prophet Amos predicted would descend upon his people, so blow after blow has fallen upon our brethren: murder and massacre, expulsion, concentration camps and, even to this hour, stark, naked hunger and gnawing starvation.

There is also little freedom from fear in our world today. The bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki have filled us all with dread foreboding lest we likewise may be constrained to burrow like moles beneath the hills. But long before those particular bombs fell upon those Japanese cities, our people Israel was shattered by devastating bombs, compounded not of the power of the sun, but of the fire and fury of hell—leaving a trail of disease and death behind them such as have been visited upon no other people; leaving a taste of bitter disillusionment in the hearts of Israel, as we have beheld with growing concern and increasing alarm the seemingly complete moral collapse of our generation, which in many respects is far more serious even than the physical suffering that our people has been called upon to endure.

If our civilization does indeed lose its soul; if we permit the word of nations, however great, to be broken toward people, however small; if we allow the repudiation of justice and decency toward Israel—the sensitive seismograph of the centuries—then all hope is lost indeed.

It was to meet the moral challenge of such an hour; it was to attempt to right some of these flagrant wrongs; it was to strive to cope with some of this tragedy that has all but pulverized our brethren in Europe, that this American Jewish Conference was called into being. It was not, as some mistakenly or deliberately presume, to cover the whole gamut of

Jewish life or to be a permanent body; to be a cure-all or a panacea for all Jewish ills the wide world over. It was specifically and exclusively called into being as an emergency measure, designed to meet the particular tragedy and challenge of these recent years.

There are some who maintain that the Conference has failed even within the limited purview of its original call. I refuse to share such a pessimistic conclusion. The Conference has done much, exceedingly much, as the reports of this afternoon and of subsequent sessions will make incontrovertibly clear. Admittedly, we have not done enough—not nearly enough.

There is not a single sensitive Jew among us but is compelled to bow his head in abject contrition when he listens to the reports of our American Jewish Conference representatives, to whom we owe a deep debt of appreciation, when they return from overseas and tell us of the sense of disappointment on the part of our brother Jews in Europe concerning our failure. Perhaps it is true that our fellow Jews, lacerated in body and wounded in mind and spirit, have expected miracles of us, miracles that we were unable to perform. Perhaps they did expect too much in the face of the very real difficulties and insurmountable obstacles that we were called upon to confront.

But there is one thing which our brethren had a right to expect of us, of this great American Jewry. They had a right to expect a consolidation of our forces, a coordination of our endeavors, a closing of our ranks, a unification of our efforts such as so grave and unprecedented and widespread a catastrophe demanded. [Applause.] To some degree, even to a large degree, this American Jewish Conference has sedulously sought and modestly achieved this end.

My own presence here today, if you will pardon the personal reference, is, in my judgment, eloquent testimony to the fact that we have made considerable advance in this direction. We have learned in this American Jewish Conference to live together. [Applause.] We have learned to transcend differences. We have learned to be respectful and solicitous of divergence of judgment. We have demonstrated that democracy can work in American Jewish life. We have proved that dissent from majority opinion can be registered in ways other than by withdrawal or isolation. [Applause.]

What we have thus learned we must now be prepared to carry over into the perilous days of reconstruction that lie ahead. We must emphasize and re-emphasize, however, the fact that this particular American Jewish Conference was called for a particular purpose and an immediate and restricted task—a task which every one of us concedes is not yet finished, and which this American Jewish Conference must responsibly carry through to its completion. But we will fail the high destiny of American Jewry; we will fail our European brethren; we will fail the Yishuv in Palestine, if we permit, after the work of this Conference is finished, the same anarchy and chaos to reign again in American Jewish life. [Applause.]

We do not seek any shallow conformity or totalitarianism. We Jews will never stand for that. But we do believe that, taking due regard of the provinces of existing agencies, and likewise with due recognition of minority rights and opinions, we might explore the possibilities of rearing a dignified and decent, efficient and effective tribune which might, in Lincoln's classic phrase, have "patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people." [Applause.]

In saying this, I wish to underscore the fact that I speak only for myself, and in no wise do I commit the organization which I am privileged to represent. But I do voice the hope that my own historic organization and other organizations that comprise this Conference, and even without this Conference, might catch this larger vision and in fellowship build such an American Jewish unity. I believe it can be done. Having been privileged to serve as one of the panel of the American Jewish Conference's consultants at San Francisco, I witnessed the play and interplay there of power politics. I noted how the very real and deep and historic differences among the nations were resolved in a spirit of genuine compromise and good-will. I am convinced that there are no differences so deep or so great or so bitter in American Jewish life that the nations with all their competition and rivalry can build a United Nations Organization and we Jews should fail in building an American Jewish union. [Applause.] For shame that we Jews whose prophetic vision of Isaiah and Micah is being now seized upon and put into practice by the nations, should not be the first to carry out our Hebraic preachment into Jewish life.

If we cannot be lured by these lofty considerations, if we cannot feel the tug of our own tradition impelling us in this direction, then let us at least be practical enough to unite in our own common defense against an enemy that would destroy us all.

We dare do no less. Particularly in the light of the shift of Jewish population to this continent, and in the face of the diplomatic capital of the world being established in these United States, we dare do no less than this which is expected of us, and which we can rightfully discharge only through such democracy and unity.

Let us then rise to this high-born part which destiny, or Providence, has imposed upon us. Let us reconsecrate ourselves anew to the unification and democratization of American Jewry and the redemption of Israel everywhere in the world. [Applause.]

. . . .

Election of Praesidium

It is my pleasure to announce the Praesidium which has been nominated, I take it, by the General Committee and seconded through the groups. The suggestion is that this Praesidium consist of the three Co-Chairmen of the American Jewish Conference—Henry Monsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky—and the following: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, representing General Zionists; Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Harold Frankel, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Eisendrath, Reform Religious group; Samuel Rothstein, Conservative Religious group; Frank Goldman, B'nai B'rith; J. George Fredman, Non-Partisan group; Leon Gellman, Religious National Orthodox group; Alex F. Stanton, Independent group; and Professor Hayim Fineman, Labor Zionist group.

[A motion to elect the entire slate was unanimously adopted. The newly elected Praesidium was then seated on the platform.]

CHAIRMAN EISENDRATH—It is now my pleasure to call upon Mr. Ezra Shapiro, President of the Cleveland Jewish Community Council, who will accord this American Jewish Conference its official welcome. [Applause.]

Address of Welcome Ezra Z. Shapiro

MR. CHAIRMAN, fellow delegates, guests: It is my privilege as President of the Cleveland Jewish Community Council to welcome the delegates to this Third Session of the American Jewish Conference.

This city may not be noted for exceedingly peaceful Jewish conventions. Some of you may remember a rather historic but certainly not peaceful convention, held here about twenty-five years ago. But then, more often than not, conventions which are not necessarily peaceful become historic; for out of the welter of debate and sharp conflict very often there emerge great movements, ideas and institutions.

May I recall the setting which gave birth to the American Jewish Conference? It, too, was not born in peace. But who would deny the fact that the First Session of the American Jewish Conference was a glorious Session. Recall, for a moment, the opening meeting, the resplendent moments on the evening of the discussion on the question of Palestine and the adoption of the Palestine Resolution. Were we not all electrified by the sense of unity that had been achieved at that First Session of the Conference on that very important subject and, I dare say, on all of the subjects which were considered by the Conference? There was a tremendous satisfaction in knowing that for the first time, after a lapse of more than a score and five years, the American Jewish Community had risen to maturity and had created and cemented this democratic, all-inclusive American Jewish Conference, in which every section of the community was represented and every idea expressed.

Then came the Second Session, and, to be frank, there was a recession in that spirit of elation and exultation which marked the First Session. Much had happened in the interim. Reference has been made to one organization which left the Conference and another, a satellite organization, which had also deserted. Despite this defection, there was a permeating sense of continuity in the Conference.

There was, however, a sense of frustration, which had been brought into Jewish life by currents outside of our own internal Jewish life. We had hoped that at the Second Session we might hear a report that the world had begun to listen to our plea for justice. Instead, we faced the

terrifying fact that the nations of the world continued to meet and our fellow Jews continued to die and perish in the face of a calloused and indifferent world which treated with our fellow Jews in miserable, indifferent fashion.

And, now, the Third Session. In this last period of some fifteen months, this great American Jewish Conference has demonstrated that it could well represent the American Jewish Community before the bar of the world on all questions which are within the scope of the Conference's operations. The representations of the Conference in San Francisco and then before the Anglo-American Palestine Inquiry Commission and before other intergovernmental bodies throughout the world, brought to Jews throughout this country the conviction that this Conference must be continued in its pristine strength and glory, aye, even strengthened and fortified.

There is, to be sure, universal recognition that our task is not yet done, and that this Conference must remain on the American Scene, at least until that task is finished.

There is yet another mood which seems to permeate this Conference and those of us who are vitally concerned with the problems of Jewry the world over. Having tasted the experience of a large, democratic organ in the American Jewish Community—functioning well, in a spirit of utter friendliness, cooperation and consultation, and speaking for a united American Jewish Community on the subjects within the terms of reference of the Conference, the American Jewish Community now prays and hopes for the day when there will be a permanent American Jewish Conference to deal with all Jewish problems, occurring everywhere, including the American Scene. [Prolonged applause.] My friends, what greater expression of that mood and sentiment in the country could one behold than that which you have just witnessed!

But, I hasten to add in fairness, that whereas a year ago there was an unbridled spirit which would have grafted onto the scope of this Conference the American Scene, there is in this Conference a frank feeling that it would be beyond the terms of reference of the Conference. There is, however, an earnest hope and insistence that this Conference will rise to even greater maturity and in orderly, moral and constitutional manner, find the way, in consultation with all appropriate parties and persons, to

bring about that type of permanent American Jewish Conference so devoutly prayed for.

Fellow delegates: בְּרוּכִים אַתֶּם הַבָּאִים בְּשֵׁם ד' וְיִשְׂרָאֵל

(Be ye blessed who come in the name, and for the sake of God and Israel.)

[Applause.]

. . .

CHAIRMAN EISENDRATH—Whatever may be the fate or future of the American Jewish Conference, American Israel will reserve a special page, a brilliantly illuminated page for him who is to address us next; who first called this Conference into being; whose high idealism, whose passionate Jewish spirit, whose keen mind and fervent heart have throbbed through this Conference from its very inception unto this hour, when we are to be privileged to hear from our Co-Chairman, Mr. Henry Monsky. [Applause.]

Address Henry Monsky

I HAVE the responsibility, as one of the Co-Chairmen of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, to report upon its major achievements since its last Session. This I shall do only briefly, because full and comprehensive reports have been printed for your examination.

This Session of the Conference, we may record with gratitude to a gracious Providence, is the first session to be held after the cessation of hostilities. With the complete victory of the democratic nations, with the total collapse of the military power of Tokyo and Berlin—even though accomplished at such tragic cost—we may now look hopefully to the establishment of what we pray may be a lasting and enduring peace. We approach, let us hope, the dawn of a new era, in which all men of every race, color, creed or nationality, and of all nations, large and small, may enjoy without favor or discrimination the Freedoms expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the series of historic documents which have followed; an era in which the destiny of peoples shall be determined on the basis of fundamental justice, free from the corroding influences of greed, power politics, desire for conquest, and all the evil forces which threatened to destroy our democratic civilization and its traditional values.

The gas chambers and the slaughter houses no longer take their toll in the campaign of annihilation and extermination as applied to the Jewish people—a campaign unprecedented in the whole history of mankind. Thank God, it has been effectively halted. But the tragic consequences of that campaign have now for the first time become definitely known. The stark reality is worse than our gravest fears; 5,700,000 Jews were the innocent victims of this horrible and incomprehensible tragedy. Those who remain after years of the most cruel and gruesome experiences cry out for aid and succor. This decimated remnant of Israel must be physically and spiritually rehabilitated. The responsibility for that physical and spiritual rehabilitation is the sacred, inescapable responsibility of the American Jewish Community. This is our challenge, the greatest in all of our history as a people. We must not fail.

In our message to the Conference at its Second Session, we reviewed the history of the American Jewish Conference, beginning with the Call

of Pittsburgh meeting in which thirty-two national Jewish membership organizations participated. At that meeting preliminary steps were taken to bring about a common course of action. It was then recognized, "that the American Jews in collaboration with other Jewish communities of the free countries would be required to assume an unprecedented measure of responsibility for the preservation of the remnants of Israel in the war-devastated lands and for the establishment of an acceptable post-war status."

We had then, in the light of our speculation as to the extent of the tragedy—as we have now even more intensely, in the light of the actual facts so starkly revealed—a deep sense of responsibility for the fate of our people abroad.

The detailed report made on behalf of the Interim Committee shows a record of achievement which, it may be said, is a satisfactory implementation of the purposes and the program as defined in the Pittsburgh proposals. And that record is an important, yes, a never-to-be forgotten chapter in the history of the American Jewish Community.

The American Jewish Conference and its representatives actively participated in a number of epoch-making events; and that participation and the results obtained, which have been and will be reported at this meeting, may well give us cause for profound gratification.

At the San Francisco Conference, the conference called "UNCIO," the United Nations Conference on International Organization, the American Jewish Conference was permitted by the State Department to appoint a consultant. It was one of the high privileges of your Co-Chairman to be designated as such consultant by the Interim Committee of the Conference, serving along with forty-one other consultants representing national organizations.

The United Nations Conference was not a peace conference. Its purpose was to formulate and adopt the basic charter of a world organization to be established for the "maintenance of international peace and security" and "the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples."

The delegates at that Conference, representing fifty nations, were fully cognizant of their great responsibility. They well knew that upon the outcome of their deliberations would depend the verdict of history

in regard to the recurrence of or complete freedom from oppression, militarism, aggression, and all the evil forces which from time immemorial have plagued mankind. They recognized that the security of each nation is dependent upon the security of the world as a whole. They recognized that conflicts in any part of the world, whatever their cause and however motivated, are the symptoms of disease in the world body politic, which, if not suppressed or retarded must and will spread, with consequent devastation and distress to people everywhere. This has been tragically demonstrated within the past decade.

The keynote of the San Francisco Conference was effectively expressed by the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt when he said: "We shall have to take responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

It was clear to the delegates that the new international organization must be something more than a world security council. They were convinced of the need for an organization which should be consecrated to a program calculated to remove or destroy the causes of war. They recognized that only an organization consecrated to the high purpose of bringing about in fact economic stability and future well-being for all the peoples of the earth, would ultimately destroy the myth that wars are inevitable.

These are the premises upon which the deliberations of the San Francisco Conference proceeded. The Charter was designed to construct a world organization of the character required to meet these high purposes.

We are gratified to report that the Joint Committee of the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress, and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, made an important contribution to the realization of that objective.

As consultant, it was our privilege to join with the consultants of twenty or more other organizations in the recommendation for the adoption of the provisions in the Charter designed to bring about "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

It is significant that the amendments dealing with the matter of human rights and fundamental freedoms provide for the establishment of specific machinery and effective instrumentalities to carry out their objectives.

Although there is cause for gratification that the delegates to the United Nations Conference saw fit to include provisions concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms, I am constrained to repeat what we had occasion to say to the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee on Palestine, following testimony which described the deplorable manifestations of anti-Semitism in Poland and other countries since the conclusion of the war, in which the masses have been poisoned by Nazi hate propaganda:

"While we recognize the necessity for and the value (theoretically, if not practically) of minority treaties, of bills of rights and constitutions, designed to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and all that type and character of documentation, we are compelled, on the basis of experience in many European countries, to point out that such documents do not bring about a change in the attitudes of the people, except in those lands wherein the democratic tradition has become deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the people.

"To hope for such an eventuality in some of the European countries is to hope for the impossible, unless it be after a long and arduous process of education, extending over a period of years, in the fundamentals of democracy as we in America know it."

Apart from our interest in the basic concepts of the United Nations Charter, our Joint Committee had a special interest in the proposed international trusteeship system, with particular reference to the rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. The trusteeship system, as you know, is to apply to (a) territories now held under mandate, (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. It was essential that there should be no impairment of the existing rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. As a result of, and, I believe it accurate to say, entirely due to, representations made for and on behalf of our Joint Committee and the Jewish Agency, the chapter on trusteeships includes protective clauses, the effect of which is at least to safeguard our rights in regard to Palestine.

It is important to note that the Joint Committee demonstrated at San Francisco the possibility of genuine collaboration at an international conference on the part of organizations representing the vast majority of the

Jewish people, and the American Jewish Conference may justly claim credit for that achievement; that the point of view of the Jewish people with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms and our interest in and hope for an International Bill of Rights were made articulate through the efforts of the Joint Committee and resulted in substantial accomplishment; that the rights and interests of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine were, within the limited scope of the agenda of the San Francisco Conference, adequately safeguarded.

We are gratified to report to you that the United States delegation, along with many other delegations, stood firm for the provision later adopted and made a part of the trusteeship chapter of the United Nations Charter. I quote it:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship arrangements, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

While the clause as finally adopted was not identical with the safeguarding clause as proposed by us, we believe it is adequate to protect against loss, through interpretation, of accrued and existing rights of the Jewish people in respect to Palestine.

It is interesting to note that though the clause was first proposed by the American Jewish Conference, followed by the other organizations constituting the Joint Committee—that is to say, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews—our action was later supported by other organizations not affiliated with the Conference, so that there was substantial unity of the Jewish position at San Francisco, in respect to this clause.

May I be permitted to relate only one of many significant experiences encountered in our contacts with important delegates of the nations represented at the San Francisco Conference. The delegate involved in my story was the Foreign Minister and delegation head of one of the most important nations other than the Big Five. He was a well-recognized diplomat of outstanding ability. Our interview concerned itself with our

proposed safeguarding clause in the trusteeship chapter, in relation to Palestine. A brief resume of our conversation will, I am sure, be of interest to you. His statement to us was highly significant.

We explained the purpose of our visit and our desire for a safeguarding clause. The statesman, to whom I shall refer as Mr. A., said: "Your suggestions, gentlemen, seem entirely reasonable. I am quite familiar with the Palestine problem and the import of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, and I am thoroughly sympathetic with the view that nothing should be done to impair any rights that may have resulted from these documents and the history that followed them. I would suggest that you submit a brief upon the question to me and to the member of our delegation who serves on the Commission dealing with the trusteeship chapter. I shall arrange for a conference so that you may present your point of view to him."

I was happy to be able to say: "We have already prepared a memorandum on the subject, sir, and I am glad to present that memorandum to you; and we shall be very glad to meet with Dr. B. who represents you on the Trusteeship Commission."

Mr. A. then said, and I thought most significantly: "Your people are at a decided disadvantage in this Conference. You have no way of being directly represented to express your point of view or to maintain your position."

To which I was prompted to make the retort: "It is that disadvantage that we devoutly hope we may be able to liquidate with the aid of forthright and far-visioned statesmen of the nations whose influence can be brought to bear upon the deliberations of this Conference."

My colleague, the late Mr. Herman Shulman—to whom I take this opportunity to pay public tribute for his zealous, devoted and consecrated services at San Francisco—then observed: "You know, of course, the Jewish Agency for Palestine has by virtue of the Mandate a semi-official status at international conferences and could, therefore, be permitted to represent the Jewish people."

"Oh, yes, I know that," said Mr. A., "but that is not what I mean. What I mean to say is that your people have no land, no government, no parliament, no congress, no legislative body—none of the characteristics or trappings that constitute the basis for recognition at a conference of this

character, qualifications that many nations fully participating in this Conference possess, even though their territory and their population and their relative importance is none too significant."

I did not make articulate at the moment how poignantly I felt the disappointment that the impact of this irrefutable logic uttered by this outstanding diplomat and statesman could not be brought home to, and influence the thinking of, many of our fellow Jews who seem to be much more interested in the settlement of the academic and theoretical question whether the Jews are a religious sect, a racial group, a nationality, than in the realistic measures and essential prerequisites to give our people status and to afford them some assurance of their future security. [Applause.]

It was a high privilege to be afforded the opportunity to serve as consultant at the United Nations Conference on International Organization and thus to participate in the establishment of a world organization, which we hope may bring surcease to Israel from its tragic experience and an early realization of its aspirations.

As you have already been informed, the American Jewish Conference was responsible for the decision of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to permit Jewish organizations to send liaison officers into the occupied zones, to assist and cooperate with UNRRA in dealing with the problem of displaced persons, with a view to their more orderly redistribution and their more speedy rehabilitation. I shall not dwell upon this phase of the Conference activity. The accomplishments of the liaison officers who represented the Conference have been reported to you in part and will be further reported during the course of this Session. A very real and most valuable contribution has been and will be made toward a better understanding and a speedier solution of the manifold problems created by the large number of our people in the army of displaced persons.

Responsive to the third subdivision of the Pittsburgh proposals calling for "cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world," the Conference entered into a working agreement with the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews. The agreement was approved in January, 1945. I read, briefly:

"A Committee shall be set up of representatives of these three bodies to work out the means whereby consultation and coordination among themselves and such other Jewish bodies as are in agreement with their general policy, may be most effectively secured and their common objectives affecting post-war Jewish needs attained."

Cooperation, which I have already described, between these three bodies and the additional bodies was had at San Francisco. Day to day consultations were held between them, in which also the following participated: representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Jewish Community of Argentina, the Jewish Community of Mexico, as well as the Jewish Agency.

The activities of the Joint Committee at San Francisco caused the three parties to the original agreement to adopt this further resolution on May 14th:

"It is agreed by those present, on behalf of their respective organizations, to wit: the American Jewish Conference, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the World Jewish Congress, to continue the existing arrangement for close consultation and cooperation for the purpose of attaining their common objectives affecting post-war Jewish needs.

"It is further agreed that, in line with the invitation heretofore extended by the three cooperating organizations to the Board of Deputies of South African Jews and the Jewish Community of the Soviet Union, efforts shall be continued to secure the cooperation and consultation of such other Jewish bodies as are in agreement with the general policies of this Joint Committee."

This was followed by further consultations in London in which many principal questions were dealt with: (a) the position of the displaced, stateless and non-repatriable Jews in Europe; (b) submission of proposals to UNRRA; (c) clarification and definition of claims for reparation to the Jewish people for damages inflicted by Germany, and the practical means for presenting these claims to the United Nations War Reparations Commission; (d) the (then) forthcoming major war criminals' trials in Nuremberg and the presentation of Jewish evidence; (e) widening of the present arrangement between the three bodies to include other organizations; (f) preparations for the peace conference and related problems (these questions were postponed for the next consultation); (g) safeguarding Jewish cultural heritage; and (h) establishment of a joint

secretariat and further consultations. There was agreement on most of the questions under review.

An invitation has been extended to CRIF (Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France) representing the French Jewish Community, although because of some differences of opinion as to method of representation of the French Jewish Community that have arisen between the original parties to the agreement, CRIF has not yet been integrated as a part of this joint consultative instrumentality. It is strongly recommended that aggressive and energetic action be taken without further delay to strengthen and enlarge this joint consultative organization, to the end that there shall be created at the earliest possible date and in advance of the forthcoming Peace Conference, or conferences, united Jewish representation, similar to the Council of Jewish Delegations, representing the largest possible number of Jewish communities in various parts of the world.

The American Jewish Conference submitted to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, recently held in Washington, a formal memorandum setting forth its position. The memorandum was based upon and gave expression to the program formulated and promulgated at the two preceding Sessions. It was the privilege of your Co-Chairman to appear before the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee, to give testimony and make a statement supplemental to the brief that had been filed. The statement of your Co-Chairman was followed by the testimony of various national Jewish organizations affiliated with the Conference, and by several organizations outside the Conference.

The brief of the Conference and the statement made by your Co-Chairman concerning the composition of the Conference and its democratic character, representing as it does sixty-three national Jewish membership organizations—with an approximate membership of 1,500,000 American Jews or more—and seventy-eight communities and fifty-eight regions spread throughout the nation and in every state of the Union, served to offset the effect of the point of view expressed by those few isolated organizations which have persistently been adverse to the program, the aims, and the objectives of the American Jewish Conference.

It was made clear to the Inquiry Committee that the Palestine Resolution and the entire program of the Conference in relation to Palestine

were deeply rooted in and based upon international covenants that must be respected. We pointed out to the Committee that in the American Jewish Conference, which reflected a cross-section of our Jewish community, there were some organizations which because of the diversified composition of their membership, did not take a position upon that phase of the Palestine question which has to do with the ultimate political status of Palestine. That very statement added strength to our presentation. It gave support to the claim that can be justly made on behalf of the Conference, that it does not represent the point of view of only the official Zionist organizations, but that it does represent in relation to its prescribed area of activity, in truth and in fact, the vast majority of the Jewish people in America. [Applause.]

The Committee was urged to recommend the abolition of the White Paper, unrestricted immigration into Palestine, and the fulfillment of the spirit of the Balfour Declaration. As to these objectives, the Committee was advised that, on the part of all organizations affiliated with the Conference, there was and is virtual unanimity. We emphasized the results of the Elmo Roper poll conducted in October, 1945, showing that 80.1 per cent of the Jews of America were in favor of the following proposition: "A Jewish State in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish State, or Commonwealth, for those who want to settle there," and that only 10.5 per cent were willing to express themselves affirmatively upon the question—the question that was contended for by another organization which claims to be representative of American Jewish opinion—namely, that the Jews are a religious group only and not a nation.

Attention of the Committee was called to the concurrent Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives. Witnesses on behalf of many agencies presented to the Committee a great volume of facts demonstrating the extent of the resources and the manpower that have been poured into Palestine, with faith in the promises made to the Jewish people. It was again reemphasized that the outpouring of so much treasure and sacrifice in the rebuilding and the reclamation of Palestine, based on confidence in the pledges of responsible governments, wholly apart from humanitarian considerations, makes imperative, in justice, the fulfillment of those pledges.

As a result of the reports of our liaison officers, we were in a position to present to the Committee undisputed evidence, brought up to date—I think our last report was on December 15th, and the Anglo-American Committee met, I believe, on January 5th—fully corroborating the testimony of Mr. Earl Harrison and Dr. Joseph Schwartz of the Joint Distribution Committee concerning the tragic plight of our people in the displaced persons camps. It was clear from the reports and the testimony of all witnesses, that the overwhelming majority of the displaced Jewish persons expressed their desire to go to Palestine.

Since the terms of reference to this Inquiry Committee involved the responsibility of dealing with the question of immigration to other lands, it was necessary to underscore the statements made by Mr. Harrison concerning the inactivity of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and the improbability of any solution of the problem or of any substantial relief for displaced Jews in countries other than Palestine, under present immigration policies and quotas.

It was necessary to point out the futility and the illusory character of suggestions for relief through the resettlement of Jews in countries other than Palestine. The Committee was advised—and that, I think, should be the position of this Conference—that we would consider it unfortunate if its consideration of the problems which have been referred to it should be limited to the matter of finding a haven or a sanctuary for Jewish refugees, although we do not minimize in the slightest the vital necessity for immediate action in that regard. Any ultimate recommendations by the Inquiry Committee based upon that limited perspective, would be only a temporary expedient and would contribute little to the solution of the status of the Jewish people. The Committee's recommendations must be based upon the long-range point of view. It is our hope that after the many years of vacillating and changing attitudes with respect to this vital Palestine problem, the Committee will concern itself with the restoration of the Jewish people to status and security in a national Jewish homeland, as was intended by His Majesty's Government when the Balfour Declaration was issued.

Our request to the Inquiry Committee was epitomized in the concluding sentences of your Co-Chairman's statement, as follows: "In conclusion, gentlemen, may I urge your careful consideration of the Palestine

Resolution of the Conference, to which I have already referred. May I urge an expressed determination to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth and the abolition of the White Paper of May, 1939, thus permitting the gates of Palestine to be opened for unrestricted immigration and thus removing limitations on land settlement in Palestine by the Jewish people."

Let me here extemporize for a moment. As an indication of how important the Conference has been in its representation of the cross-section of Jewish opinion in American Jewish life, and as an indication of the importance of continuing and intensifying the activity of the American Jewish Conference in these fields, we point out the following experience. There was other testimony by other organizations. I shall not mention them. You are all familiar with the record. You will notice that in this last statement we spoke about the "abolition" of the White Paper. There were other witnesses who testified and used the term "modification" of the White Paper. Their statement was heralded as agreement with our position. We must not be confused that way. A modification of the White Paper so as to suspend the restrictions in order to permit 100,000 Jews to immigrate into Palestine, or any other number—100,000 or 200,000—coupled with the recommendation that after having admitted that number of Jews, the whole matter shall be delegated to the United Nations Organization for the purpose of placing the whole question of Palestine under the jurisdiction of the international trusteeship system, with the right in the United Nations to establish—now, mark the language—a free and democratic commonwealth in Palestine, when it shall determine to do so, is not in accord with our position. And the particular witness said that the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine is certainly not going to disturb the Arabs. He said the Arabs will still have 1,200,000 or 1,300,000. Their majority, the witness said, will still be adequate because we will then have officially only 700,000.

The whole concept of modification is a complete surrender of vested rights. Either the White Paper is an iniquitous document, a breach of faith, a breach of fundamental and basic international pledges, and, therefore, must be abrogated and abandoned, or, if we talk about merely its suspension or modification, we surrender whatever rights are due or accrued as a result of the White Paper.

Let us assume that we permit 100,000 to come into Palestine. The majority of Arabs is still two-to-one or better. And then, ultimately, a free and democratic commonwealth will be established. What will it be? A Jewish commonwealth? It will be an Arab democratic commonwealth with a Jewish minority; with a majority that shares the philosophy of totalitarianism and feudalism and half slavery, and all of the other half-civilized concepts, even to a greater extent than the German people did before Hitler. I cannot reconcile that kind of testimony with the position of the Conference.

I make that analysis for you to indicate the necessity of keeping tied together in this Conference not only the official Zionist organizations, but the great organizations, mass organizations, in Jewish life which, even though they have not spoken officially upon the question of the ultimate solution—political status of Palestine—have gone with the Conference the full way in permitting the Conference to represent that they are affiliated organizations and that they are participating in the program of the Conference because the program of the Conference represents what we called it at Pittsburgh, “a common program of action regardless of ideological disputation.” [Applause.]

Getting back to my text, as a final word, it was my privilege to say to the Committee: “I reemphasize our very strong feeling that we must not perpetrate the grave injustice upon the displaced persons of forcing them to go back to lands which represent nothing except terribly tragic memories and the scenes of gas chambers and charnel houses which took their loved ones. These lands offer them neither security, a chance for survival, nor peace of mind.

“Palestine offers them, if the spirit of the Balfour Declaration should be carried out, security, peace of mind, and the opportunity for normal development as free men.”

It would unduly trespass upon your time and serve no good purpose for me to report upon the large number of activities energetically carried on by the Conference under the direction of the Interim Committee and its Executive Committee.

These manifold activities in the areas of rehabilitation, rescue, establishment of a united Jewish front, representations to governmental and intergovernmental conferences and committees, war crimes, reparations,

etc., are all detailed in the printed report submitted to you on behalf of the Interim Committee. These activities were responsible for and resulted in definitive action of a beneficial character to our people in a number of instances—actions which, except for the activities of the Conference, might not have ensued. Your careful reading of that report of the Interim Committee is recommended to demonstrate what a vital instrumentality for service the Conference has been within the past fourteen months.

The next section of my address to you this afternoon devotes itself to the question which has been touched upon by Rabbi Eisendrath in his opening statement to this Conference and referred to by Ezra Shapiro in his greetings to you; and I shall reserve all that I had to say in the next section pending the outcome of present negotiation.

If, in fact, there is a spirit of good-will on the part of the delegates—and I am sure there is—to bring about the machinery that may ultimately result in a democratic, representative body to represent American Jewish community opinion, with its functions properly delimited and circumscribed so as not to do more harm than good, there may be the possibility that this Conference can proceed to institute procedure for the beginning of such an organization. I hope it will be possible. My comments on that subject should properly be deferred until we have talked through the texts that are being considered.

During the dark and tragic years of the war—I know that you are curious. [Laughter.] I know that you are tremendously curious. I think it might be important for me to make a little additional statement in order that there may be no misapprehension. I am departing from my text completely. I have no objection. On the contrary, I have a very, very profound desire and hope that when this Conference shall have completed its work as defined by the Pittsburgh proposals, in the course of the next few years we may be able to have another organization in its place that likewise represents the American Jewish Community. I go further than that, and hope that there will be other national Jewish organizations in that new body, so that we will attain that ideal unity that you are talking about, Ezra Shapiro. I also have in mind that maybe the Conference that will grow out of our present efforts may be a Conference of a somewhat different character, although still democratic; that

it may be representative of the communities in some different form than the present Conference; that the proportions of the representation may be different. Those are all details that have to be discussed and that have to be determined. We may be able to settle the basic principles at this Conference. Anyone who tells you that your present speaker and Co-Chairman is averse to the continuation of the principle of a democratic, representative body to represent the Jewish people is not quoting your Co-Chairman properly. [Applause.] But it is necessary to know what the character and the structure of that democratic body will be, and the nature and scope of its activities. And that has no relationship to the B'nai B'rith. It has relationship to the whole pattern of American Jewish life with all of its various and varying organizations. [Applause.]

. . . During the dark and tragic years of the war our activities were mainly in the field of rescue and by way of preparation for the postwar period. Our numbers have been decimated; the body of Israel has been sorely tried, abused and wounded; but the spirit of our people remains undaunted and its will to live is strengthened.

As we emerge from the terrifying experiences of the dark tragedy of recent years, let us reconsecrate ourselves to the task of rebuilding upon the ruins of yesterday, new and more enduring and even more glorious edifices of the spirit of our people, which has preserved Israel down through the centuries and has enabled it to make its incomparable contribution to the ethical, moral and spiritual values of world civilization.

Statesmen have expressed a firm resolve that a new world order be established, in which the dignity of the individual and respect for the human personality shall be paramount considerations; in which justice shall be done to all peoples and all nations, large and small; in which international covenants shall be sacred and their performance imperative; in which each nation and each group may be completely free to develop, unfettered and untrammelled, its own philosophy of life and its own traditions, and to determine its own future destiny.

There is hope for the Jew in such a new world order. It offers unprecedented opportunity. Shall we, and through us the American Jewish Community, make the most of that opportunity? And that gives the best reason for the continuation of this American Jewish Conference. Selfless consecration to the single objective of serving the cause of

Israel is the command of the hour. This we can do if we remain united in purpose and effort. It was my privilege several years ago to open the First Session of this Conference with the exhortation:

הנה מה טוב ומה נעים שבת אחים גם יחד.

(How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity.)

Today, more than ever, when we stand at the very threshold of the realization of our hopes and aspirations, that exhortation has even greater significance.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

. . .

CHAIRMAN EISENDRATH—Don't debate Mr. Monsky's proposition now. [Laughter.] There will be ample opportunity for doing so.

It is one thing to set our compass and to chart our course. It is another thing to guide the vessel through the rough waters that often beset us. This Conference owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Chairman of its Executive Committee for his painstaking and persevering, day by day, week after week guidance, supervision and direction of the work of this Conference. We are eager to hear his report.

I give you Mr. Louis Lipsky, its Chairman. [Applause.]

Address Louis Lipsky

LADIES and gentlemen: The year we report on—if these long months can be called a year—witnessed the shattering of Nazi Germany and the collapse of the Japanese Empire. The shadow under which the civilized world lived for over a decade passed away abruptly and decisively; and with it, the terror of thirteen horrible years suffered by the Jewish people. The last shriek of Hitler's voice issued from the cellar in Berlin where he died. That scourge which swept forward in 1940 to what seemed certain triumph, was met by a coordinated attack from the west, the east and the north; and the back of Nazi resistance was broken. The Nazis ceased fighting in May. The Japanese surrendered in August. The long night of war was over.

When the Nazis raised the white flag in patches and their collapse seemed imminent, the victors began clearing the battlefields, repairing the roads and bridges, removing the rubble of the devastated German cities, herding together the displaced, and preparing the blueprint for the new Europe. The moment the Nazi regime fell, not only was Germany already being occupied, but the delegates of the United Nations were meeting in San Francisco and laying the foundations of a new League of Nations. All the valiant hopes that had comforted the democracies through the dark years were now to be incorporated in an international agreement that would establish peace and security in the world.

Now what was left of Jewish life on the blood-soaked fields of war became visible in all its dreadfulness. The slave hatches were raised; the human slaughter-houses were abandoned and the blood allowed to dry on their walls. The stark figures of forgotten men and women who had been marked off as dead, stalked off on the highways, seeking food, kinsmen and security. What had been guessed as going on within the German lines was now disclosed as tragedy more appalling than had been imagined even by distracted minds.

... The lists have been compiled. The figures have been verified. They are now to be found in the archives of the Court in Nuremberg. The plan was expertly executed, with thoroughness, without faltering, on

the part of the leaders and of those whom they led. Had not the end come before anticipated by the Nazis, there would not have been left a Jew alive to tell the tale of horror.

Those who were called back to life (wondering why) wandered away from their prisons, found other camps in which to tarry, roamed the battlefields and ransacked the ruined cities, seeking first of all to know whether any of their kin still lived, or to find some memento of their lost ones. In most cases their search was futile. They found only ashes to console them. They found not a trace of hundreds of Jewish towns and villages. They found few records of their loved ones. They found very few children. A whole generation had been completely swept from the earth.

This was a year of tears and indignation. It was a year of protest and mourning. It was a year of beating clenched fists against hard walls. It was a bleak and heartless year.

Was it too much to expect that the first act of the victors, after the defeat of Hitler, would be to pay the respect of acknowledging, at the first opportunity, what this greatly wronged people had contributed by their sacrifices to the victory that was being celebrated? For while the murderer was engaged in his work of destruction, had they sought to stay his hand or to aid in removing the victims to safety? Was it too much to expect that an occasion would be found, say in San Francisco, on the day the collapse of the world aggressor was acclaimed, to hail the people that had survived, the remnant of them, or their surviving heirs, or those who spoke in their name, and to ask them to join in the celebration?

It is now conceded that the martyrdom of millions of Jews was not the only sacrifice the Jewish people offered on the altar of war. As never before, the Jews fought valiantly—arrayed all on one side—in every army, on every front that faced the enemy. Wherever there was a resistance movement, Jews in large numbers fought side by side with the underground forces. Alone, and with reckless bravery, they fought the German army in the defense of Warsaw. They were strongly represented in numbers, in courage, and in sacrifice, in the armies of the United States, of England, of Canada, and of others. They sent their legions from Palestine in the thousands; they fought on every front

from North Africa into Greece and Italy, and into the very heart of Germany. It was the genius of Jewish scientists, gathered from many countries, that made the atomic bomb available to speed victory over the Japanese.

The record now shows that Jews have suffered not only five years of war, but the persecutions and humiliations and blood-thirsty hatreds the Nazis spread into the four corners of the earth for over thirteen years.

And yet, at the end of the war, with the flags of victory flying everywhere, the only stateless and unprotected people in the world, whose remnants are being chivvied about the fields of Europe, with no claim that is recognized, with no status that is defined, with no hope that they can rely upon, are the people who have suffered most and longest during this time. It is now nine months since German arms were laid down. The green grass grows again in German villages and towns; life is being renewed in the German cities; peoples are being restored to their lands and to their rights; but these victims of Nazi hatred are still without home or status or consolation. And when a meeting is held of states and peoples to consider wrongs to be righted, life to be recognized, reparations to be made, they are not even counted among those whose cause may properly be considered, or whose representatives might be invited even to listen in to what is being said.

In fact, peace having come, it seems as if the victors are greatly relieved that now they might dismiss the Jewish problem altogether as not being really as urgent as was thought. The burden of guilt has been raised from their shoulders. Now, no more need for immediate rescue. Now, no hurry to repair injuries, to restore even those rights they held under covenants, or to provide a future for the people whose future had been devastated in the course of the war. All will be taken care of in due time. These unfortunate victims of a cruel fate, injured to the hate of the world, habituated to unfairness, surviving in spite of all, may be expected patiently to wait their turn in the consideration of the world's business. There is so much other important business that must be disposed of first.

The fatal defect in our credentials remains. We are the only people in the world to whom a hearing cannot be given, to whom justice cannot be done, because we are not certified as a people in the eyes

of the law. We have no valid passport as a people. There was once a fragment of the Turkish Empire called Syria, and out of that Syria a fragment was taken, which was called Lebanon, and Lebanon became a sovereign state. It sits in the United Nations Conference. Palestine was a part of Syria and Transjordan part of Palestine. The fragment known as Transjordan was cut off from Palestine, and now by a declaration of the British Prime Minister, it is to become a sovereign state, even though the 250,000 Bedouins roaming over 34,000 square miles of land are wholly unaware of the sovereignty they enjoy; and that "sovereign" state lives on the bounty of England and the taxes of the Jews of Palestine. There are puppet sovereign states like Iraq, the strings of which are being pulled by British agents. There are tiny sovereign states like Luxembourg, with a territory of 1,000 miles and 300,000 people. All of these sit in the Conference of the United Nations, equal, for all formal purposes, to Canada, or Mexico, or Norway, or Denmark, or many others.

But a people scattered over the world, suffering universal prejudice, who could appear in court with a covenant which entitled it to engage as a matter of right in an enterprise to create a national home of its own, which national home already gives life and hope to 650,000 Jews; against whom war was declared by the sovereign state of Germany and carried on until one-third of its entire living strength was destroyed; and who contributed more than its share in the fight against aggression—that people lacks the qualifications to sit side by side with Transjordan, Lebanon, or Luxembourg, or Egypt, and must ask for justice as a suppliant. All its rights and all its wrongs, all that its past and present has meant to civilization, cannot overcome the traditional defect in its credentials; and no court is prepared to consider the revision of the verdict on a just and fair basis.

It is since Hitler fell—and it is important that we take note of the fact—that the problem of the homelessness of the Jewish people has been translated into the problem of displaced persons, which the Allied armies in Germany find too difficult to solve. It is since Hitler fell that there have appeared in Germany British officers capable of striking at the rights of undefended Jews through calumny, and who do not hesitate to make political capital out of the embarrassments of the helpless. It is

since Hitler fell that all former Jewish rights have been obliterated and forgotten, and no one at this time can say under what conditions even the remnants of Jews will be called upon to live, wherever it may be, when the peace is made. The minority rights of racial or religious groups are being supplanted by tendencies to place all minorities under the power and control of the national majorities. It is since Hitler fell and the United Nations was set up that there has developed, stronger than ever, a bitter struggle between two of the great victors, each moving forward to extend his sphere of influence, without regard for fundamental Jewish rights, or, for that matter, the rights of other peoples who may stand in their way. It is since the fall of Hitler that the doors of Palestine have been closed and a new government of a labor party has shown itself more ruthless in violation of pledges than any other British Government in the history of the Palestine Mandate. It is since Hitler fell that the Fascist-minded Arab States, organized by England, have been given free play on the international field in their demonstrations against Jewish people. It is since Hitler fell and was buried that the conviction has been driven home to all clear-minded observers that governments themselves, as distinguished from their peoples, are gradually becoming the last citadels of Fascism and anti-Semitism.

It is in this victorious world that the American Jewish Conference has carried on its activities during the year. It was entrusted with great responsibilities by the largest Jewish community in the world. It has labored unceasingly to present Jewish claims and to influence the trend of events. It is fortunate that the great world does not live altogether in its reflection in governments. It is a world of the free press, of the free radio, of voluntary organization. It is a world which gives power to authority but retains its own freedom. It was this world, where goodwill and understanding and conscience might be stimulated to rise against the rigidity and reaction of the states, to which our program could be submitted. It was possible to assemble for every emergency a sufficient degree of influence to make an impression upon those who are presumed to be the servants of the people.

The seat we should have occupied in the society of nations was vacant, but our relations with personalities of that society were not cut off. We were in constant communication with them, either in person or through

our memoranda. Our communications and comment appeared in the press and on the radio. We cooperated in large public demonstrations. We were in touch with the experts of governments and submitted our views on many matters under consideration—under immediate consideration—to them. We were warned at San Francisco that only the Charter would be on the agenda, but we were, nevertheless, able to command the attention of public opinion and of official bodies through the timely exposition of our views generally and for all purposes, in the press, on the radio, and through direct personal communication.

For the first time in the course of the Hitler war against the Jews, we were able to create a united front of the largest combination of Jewish communities ever assembled since the days of the Versailles Treaty. The united front included, as has been stated, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the World Jewish Congress (which included the delegates from Canada and Mexico) and the Conference. This union operated during the whole year. A Joint Secretariat was established in London and appeared there in connection with the UNRRA conferences and the meetings of the Reparations Commission.

We submit that the representations made through the Conference and through the Joint Committee of the united front have had a definite influence upon certain aspects of decisions, although what was achieved is far from what we had a right to expect.

I urge every delegate to read the Report of the Interim Committee. It is a comprehensive account of the activities which engaged our attention. It is compact, readable, and full of accurate information about Jewish affairs you should know. It reflects a wide range of interests zealously pursued, within the limitations of opportunity, and presents our program with accuracy, clarity and restraint. It gives the story of our representations in San Francisco, the story of how the Joint Committee was organized and how it has functioned. It tells the story of the Washington hearings of the Joint Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. It gives the reports of our representatives who visited our kinsmen in the zones of the displaced. It describes what is the present position in regard to rescue, war criminals, reparations and reconstruction, and developments in Palestine.

I shall give you herewith a brief summary of our position in the areas of our interest.

War Criminals—From the convocation of the First Session of the Conference until the end of the war, we have appealed to the nations to create the necessary legal apparatus and to formulate a definite policy for the punishment of war criminals. We also sought to establish the fact of a Nazi conspiracy to destroy the Jewish people, which began in 1933.

The assistance of Jewish organizations in preparing the American case was invited. Dr. Jacob Robinson, representing the World Jewish Congress, gave valuable cooperation, as did Judge Nathan D. Perlman and Dr. Alexander S. Kohanski. It was Dr. Robinson who assembled, prepared and sifted the evidence which proved the Nazi plot to exterminate the Jewish people; and it was he who represented the Conference and the World Jewish Congress at the Nuremberg trials. [Applause.]

The trials of the leaders in crime are continuing in Nuremberg, in many Russian and Polish cities, and a complete record of their atrocities is being made by their own documents and testimony, by their own recorded voices, by films taken of their criminal acts. The conviction of the arch criminals in Nuremberg is still awaited.

Reparations—The problem of reparations is not now what it seemed at the beginning. There are complicated international questions of trade and finance, of mutual relations and balances. The story of the development of this matter shows how easy it is, following a line of interests and adjustments where they conflict, for a smaller, just claim to be almost wholly lost sight of. This is what has happened to the Jewish claim.

The material losses of the Jewish people during Hitler's domination in Europe have been estimated at eight billion dollars. Jewish survivors emerging from the underground and from concentration camps have encountered great difficulties in securing a restoration of their property. There are no claimants for much of the property, for its owners and their heirs have been killed. The hope that some of this property would be held in trust for the Jewish people has not been encouraged

by the national governments concerned, which are disposed to have this property transferred to the state to be used for state purposes.

Finally, there is no likelihood that any large sum in relation to the huge losses sustained will be forthcoming from German reparations. The policy adopted by the United Nations contemplates reparations in kind. This is to be obtained by the dismantling of the German war economy, and not by the execution of financial penalties.

According to the latest decisions, which are subject to change, the Jewish victims are to be deemed citizens of an "anonymous" state, to which is to be allotted the non-monetary gold found by the Allied forces in Germany and, in addition, the sum of \$25,000,000 and in neutral countries those assets of Nazi victims who have since died and left no heirs. This is the total of reparations to be given to Jews. The sums thus to be made available, however, are to be administered by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees—not known to be a very friendly group of people—which is to carry out the purposes of the fund through private and public field organizations, including Jewish organizations. The fund is to be used, moreover, not for the compensation of the original victims, but to further the rehabilitation or resettlement of the beneficiaries.

During the course of these discussions, the Conference, through its representatives, advanced the idea of establishing a trust instrument or agency for the presentation of Jewish claims and the administration of funds recovered. A Jewish Reconstruction Trust, along the lines of the Jewish Colonization Association or the Jewish Colonial Trust, was suggested.

In view of the enormous losses suffered by the Jewish people and the need for large sums to assure the rehabilitation of the survivors, it is clear that the amount of reparations provided by the Paris Agreement is wholly inadequate, and especially unsatisfactory is the decision to have whatever funds are placed in this trust administered by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

Palestine—The delegates to this Conference will undoubtedly give public expression to their feeling of satisfaction in the long-delayed adoption of the Joint Resolution on Palestine by the American Congress. The action taken by Congress came after President Truman had made

an urgent request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine without delay. When President Truman wrote the letter, he was under the deep and moving impression made by the report of Earl G. Harrison, who had seen the conditions under which the displaced persons were living. When Mr. Attlee suggested the appointment of a joint committee of inquiry, President Truman allowed his humanity to cool and gave his assent to the appointment of the committee.

The direct request of the President that no action be taken on the Resolution did not deter the members of the House and Senate from acting favorably on a resolution which definitely set the policy of the American Government with regard to Palestine.

Now, the Joint Committee of Inquiry is engaged in making its inquiries. Its terms of reference are being variously interpreted. It is traveling a zigzag line from Washington through London over to the occupied zones, to Cairo and to Jerusalem. When summer comes again, this Committee of Inquiry, which was expected to accelerate the rescue of the displaced Jews, will be involved, in all probability, in the knotty political problems which will be submitted for its consideration and befuddlement. It will be a daring prophet who will undertake to foretell what the Committee will, at the end of its long trip, be prepared to report and who will be prepared to accept that report.

In the meantime, however, the Mandatory Government pursues its policy of repression in Palestine. It is carrying on a silent war against the Jewish people. It is issuing 1,500 certificates per month in spite of the objection of the Arabs, but it has not changed to any degree its unfriendly attitude toward the Jewish people and its adherence to the White Paper, which marked the lowest depths of its descent from political integrity and moral responsibility. [Applause.]

In spite of this record, we who are members here of the Conference and we of the Zionist organizations are not inclined to be discouraged and depressed. The clashes and rivalries that now disturb the world, and that grow with intensity from month to month, are rough incidents in the remaking of the world. The destiny of the human race is involved in these clashes and struggles; and the world will not plunge headlong to destruction. Forces will be evolved in the course of the

struggle that will realize that only through subordination to the larger interests of humanity can peace and security be achieved and, being achieved, maintained. The masks of diplomacy are now being removed in the society of nations. Plain, ordinary, brutal speech has taken the place of the smooth and courteous approach. The real life interests of the parties involved in the struggle are being revealed and they are now becoming part of an open game.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of Jewish life, regardless of how dark these days may be, we are now at the beginning of the real struggle for a free Jewish life. The world only now begins to appreciate the seriousness of the situation in which we find ourselves. It only now begins to understand the nature of our problem as a people. The frustration of our hope will force Jewish life for its own protection and survival to desperate measures of self-defense. We are important factors in the making of the peace and cannot be ignored. The world cannot for long exclude us from its program. We have much to give for the freedom we ask for. It is for us to continue the struggle with all our strength, prepared for all sacrifices, with the conviction that with persistent pressure, in the long run, we shall achieve that place in the world to which we are entitled. [Applause.]

. . .

Changes in Rules of Procedure

[Dr. Eisendrath read a number of changes of rules and organization that were presented by the General Committee (see "Rules of Procedure," pages 260-263), and all were accepted for the plenary meeting.]

CHAIRMAN EISENDRATH—May I urge upon all delegates who have not as yet registered to do so immediately following the adjournment of this meeting.

There being no other business, I declare this meeting adjourned.

[Whereupon the session adjourned at 4:30 p.m.]

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

SUNDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 17TH

Professor Hayim Fineman, presiding

The second plenary meeting, which began at 8:45 p.m., opened with an address by the Chairman.

Opening Address Professor Hayim Fineman

FELLOW delegates and guests: This is a Session devoted primarily to a review and a report of what is and may be done in the field of rescue, relief and the initial stages of rehabilitation. I am now offering, by way of opening, a few brief comments. The facts presented in blunt statistical terms are devastatingly appalling. Within six years, more than one-third of world Jewry has been destroyed. Of nine and one-half million Jews in Europe before the war, some six million have been exterminated. Whole families, entire communities have been wiped out. Practically no children up to the age of ten are alive. The number of Jewish children who have died in this war exceeds many times the total number of child war victims lost to the rest of mankind.

In terms of comparative statistics, the number of Jews destroyed in what was Hitler's Europe totals twenty-two times the number of Americans who fell in battle. What renders the situation so horrifying is the fact that this tragedy was not unavoidable. Many of those who are dead might have been alive were it not for the refusal and delays by our own State Department, by the International Red Cross, the War Refugee Board, and other agencies to take last-minute measures.

One should add that the iniquitous White Paper policy of the British Government is directly responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands. That guilt, no matter what may happen in the future, can never be wiped out.

The American Jewish Conference, together with other Jewish bodies like the World Jewish Congress, has, with its limited resources, been

engaged, both before and after the cessation of hostilities, in efforts to halt the holocaust and to rescue Jewish lives. Its activities were necessarily restricted to the political area.

It urged the Allied powers and military authorities to issue warnings to Germany and her satellites. It offered concrete proposals of how to save lives to Allied powers and neutral governments. It pleaded with the War Refugee Board. It urged the International Red Cross and the American Red Cross to extend protection to Jewish internees and to rush clothing and food to Jews in concentration and labor camps. It also appealed to the President of the United States. It met various representatives of numerous agencies and sent many memoranda. The details of our activities are given in the printed report, which we hope all of you have read, or will read.

Of course, we might have done more; by no means have we done enough. We believe, however, that through our efforts many lives have been saved, though results are appallingly small.

Since the cessation of hostilities, the need for rescue work has not ceased. The work has merely assumed new aspects. The conditions of the survivors are still precarious. There are in Germany, Hungary, Rumania, France, Poland, and in fourteen other European countries, exclusive of Soviet Russia, a fairly large number of survivors. They are subjected to harsh treatment by military authorities, and to the horrors of a resurgence of anti-Semitism. They are decimated not only by inadequate relief and care. Hundreds of thousands of displaced persons who do not desire, and should not be forced, to be repatriated, are not permitted to emigrate to Palestine. If they are not to be doomed to extinction, the gates of Palestine should be immediately opened.

Rescue work is closely interrelated with many other problems—problems of the punishment of Nazi criminals, problems of the restitution of property robbed from Jews, problems of Jewish economic and cultural rehabilitation, problems of reparation for settlement and reconstruction in Palestine and, as far as that matters, policies of agrarian reform and nationalization of property—all relate to the saving of human lives.

The growth of anti-Semitism on the European continent, the question of safeguarding human rights—they have an immediate bearing on what may be termed rescue work. These problems will undoubtedly be

taken up by the proper committees of this Conference and resolutions will be adopted. However, what we need are not mere resolutions. Above all, we need an American Jewish Conference which is alert, watchful and ready to take the necessary steps to safeguard Jewish rights.

Rescue work cannot be done by merely a Joint Distribution Committee or by any other mere relief agency. It can be performed only by a body like the American Jewish Conference, in cooperation with the World Jewish Congress and Board of Deputies and the Jewish Agency.

American Jews constitute the largest Jewish community in the world. As such, they cannot and dare not shirk their responsibilities. They are concerned with the welfare of Jews in other parts of the world not merely for humanitarian reasons. Our entire fate as a Jewish people is at stake. Failure on our part to help obtain for the Jewish people the status of security and the status of equality as a free people in a world of free nations will menace our survival as Jews in the United States.

The present generation of American Jews is charged with a sacred trust: to care for the safety, the dignity and the very survival of the Jewish people. Despite minor dissensions in our own ranks and differences in ideology, we shall not betray that trust. We dare not betray it. [Applause.]

As a united, democratically organized body, we shall play our historic role in safeguarding Jewish rights, offer our contribution in the field of reconstruction and rehabilitation and help to create for the Jewish people a place of equality among the free peoples of the world by reconstituting Palestine as a free, democratic Jewish commonwealth. [Applause.]

. . .

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—Ladies and gentlemen: We have with us tonight two speakers who are in a position to speak authoritatively on the situation of European Jewry. They have both been on the scene and can report on the basis of first-hand knowledge. I have the pleasure of presenting to you our first speaker, a gentleman who needs no introduction to our Conference. He is one of our Co-Chairmen, Dr. Israel Goldstein. [Applause.]

Address Dr. Israel Goldstein

SINCE last we met, the world has moved far, but not far enough. It has moved far in that the United Nations have won the war against the Nazi-Fascist powers, who threatened to wipe out civilization. But Victory has not brought the hoped-for liberation. As always, the plight of the Jewish people is the most reliable barometer by which to measure the atmosphere of civilization.

Those who a year ago at San Francisco naively placed their hopes upon the declaration of human rights, are perhaps more soberly realistic today. Lofty declarations of general principles are good as far as they go, but they do not go into the essence of things. Like a winged goddess without hands, they are powerless to save. To the extent, moreover, that words may have a soothing and reassuring effect, words sometimes prove to be dangerous anodynes, becoming substitutes for healing and reconstruction. In the Jewish tradition, on the contrary, the Decalogue of lofty principles is immediately followed by "Mishpatim," a program of implementation.

To be sure, the American Jewish Conference welcomes high-sounding declarations as gratefully as any other group, but its primary concern is with effective programs of healing and reconstruction. Hence our programs for reparation, restitution and rehabilitation. Hence our program for the Palestine Jewish Commonwealth which is the practical answer to the acute problem of Jewish homelessness.

Our subject tonight is "The Jews in Present-Day Europe." We shall hear first-hand reports from a distinguished observer and eminent international jurist who has just returned from Europe, and from a distinguished survivor of the Nazi terror camps, for whose life the whole Jewish people has reason to pronounce thanksgiving.

I add my word to the symposium of tonight because it was my privilege to have been the first of the American Jewish Conference constituency to get to liberated Germany. That was six months ago. It was shortly after V-E Day. It was apparent that the military commanders who had distinguished themselves in military exploits were apparently not prepared to deal as capably with the problems of the liberated vic-

tims of the Nazi terror. In the midst of the early confusion heroic acts of rescue and consolidation of Jewish groups of displaced persons were performed by a few American corporals, sergeants, and lieutenants acting on their own initiative without waiting for directives from higher up; by American Jewish chaplains who truly labored "al Kiddush ha-Shem"; and most of all by the boys of the Jewish Brigade, who brought the Maccabean touch of skill, daring, self-sacrifice and tender compassion to every rescue assignment they undertook. A hundred times I heard the Jews of the camps speak of the chaplains and the Brigade with blessings on their lips, and refer to a young American sergeant or lieutenant as "taateh," father and protector. Our tribute goes out to these young men who have renewed the glory of our ancient name.

Last July and August, the camps for displaced persons were as yet not well ordered. The shortcomings were apparent on the surface. It did not require profound investigation to see what was wrong, but it did require someone to come and see and report to the department of military government dealing with the problem of the displaced persons. I was among those who came and saw and reported, conveying a list of recommendations to General Eisenhower and to Director General Lehman. There is no point in relating these observations here because much more thorough-going observations have been made since then by representatives of our body and of other bodies. The significance of my visit to Germany last summer lay in the fact that it was the first of a series of visits, each one leading to constructive suggestions and criticisms which registered effectively in Washington and in Frankfort and helped achieve measurable alleviations of the conditions in the German camps and outside the camps. At the same time it should be acknowledged that of all the visits the most significant and the most salutary in constructive results were those made by Mr. Earl Harrison in August and by Judge Simon Rifkind, who is still there. These two will be remembered as the men who did the most to improve the lot of the displaced persons.

The American Jewish Conference can feel at least one satisfaction, namely, that the men it sent as emissaries to the camps came to them with humility and with understanding, in contrast to some emissaries who came with arrogance and who were received with resentment. The

Jews in the camps, thank God, are neither timid nor inarticulate, and make no secret of their resentment of those who come with a priori prejudices to give gratuitous advice. The British Government cannot deter them from their hearts' desire—Palestine; how much less can they be deterred by un-understanding Jews!

Today, however, the focus of our attention should no longer be on the situation of the camps. We, of the American Jewish Conference, discussing tonight the plight of European Jewry, must guard against becoming so absorbed in the problem of alleviating the conditions in the camps as to lose sight of the fact that at best we can only improve the "prison house." A prison house it remains, even if a few hundred more calories are added to the diet and a few more cubic feet per capita are added to the living space. We must be sure that we are thinking not only of relief, but of rehabilitation.

Soon it will be a year since the liberation of last summer. How long will it take before the liberated become truly free? Our brothers and sisters are tired of this abnormal, demoralizing, frustrated existence. They do not deserve to be internees. The humiliating chapter of the camps must be ended and the chapter of human dignity and freedom must at long last begin.

"Let the chains of wickedness be dissolved; let the burdens of oppression be loosed; and let the oppressed be free!"

If the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the governments which appointed them do less than see to it that the camps are dissolved before the Fall of this year and their inmates settled where they will no longer be displaced persons, either in name or in fact, then this Committee and the governments which sponsored it will earn nothing but contempt. If the President of the United States does not see to it by every pressure at his command that every displaced person who expresses a preference for Palestine gets to Palestine, he will cancel the right to be known as a humanitarian president.

The hopes of the Jews in the camps hang upon us. They feel aggrieved and angry that we have not accomplished more for them up to now. They say we have not tried hard enough, and they are bitterly disappointed. Every American Jew who visits them as I did comes away with a feeling of guilt and contrition, though he knows that much effort has

been poured into the solution of the problem. We cannot rest until we have done all that is within our power to enable those who have been liberated in name to become free in fact.

Once the camps have been dissolved, however, and the displaced persons have been appropriately placed, there will still remain the problem of the Jews in Rumania, Hungary, Poland and other lands. What restitution will they receive? What reparations will they get? What rehabilitation opportunities will they have? What freedom can they expect? What chance at a new life will they and their children enjoy?

The tragic plight of the Jewish remnant in Europe embraces not merely the displaced persons in the camps in Germany and Austria. It is co-extensive with the plight of the 1,250,000 survivors of the pre-Hitler Jewry of 7,000,000 in what was Nazi-held Europe. If one employs the term "displaced persons" in the technical sense, there are less than 100,000 displaced Jews in Europe. In the true sense of the term, however, there are more than a million displaced Jews in Europe, and they will remain displaced as long as they are economically disfranchised, socially dislocated, culturally abused and physically hounded. It would be well for the members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to lift themselves, if they can, out of their technical rut and ask themselves whether they, the honorable members of this Committee, would like to live under such conditions. Let them pause before they write off from their agenda the more than one million human beings who, from the formal point of view, have been rehabilitated, but who, because they are Jews, are denied the freedom and equality which are the inalienable birthright of all human beings. Surely the problem of these 1,250,000 Jews is on our agenda here tonight and throughout the Conference; and it is our business to keep the problem of these people on the agenda of the United Nations. The civilized world must not be permitted to forget its obligation to provide conditions of home, with all that home should mean, and to provide these conditions without delay for the remnant which has too long anguished and tortured. It will not do these survivors much good to be treated to "zukunftsmusik" which may or may not come to pass in the far-off tomorrow. The great majority of the Jewish people, primarily the Jews of Europe themselves, believe that in Palestine the conditions that spell "home" can be best fulfilled,

most quickly fulfilled, most economically fulfilled, and inalienably fulfilled.

To interpose artificial obstacles on the road which leads to Palestine is to be guilty of both spiritual and physical mayhem, even murder in the second degree. This is Great Britain's heinous crime against our people. The White Paper condemned hundreds of thousands of Jews to death during the war; its continuance will condemn hundreds of thousands of survivors to death during the peace!

And now, to compound a felony, the British propaganda machine, speaking through such as Lieut. Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan, is seeking to build up an impression that the flight of the Jews from Poland is artificially stimulated by "an organized international conspiracy" by which, of course, they mean the Zionist movement. Would it not be a logical corollary to this thesis for Mr. Bevin's mouthpiece to assert that the pogrom bands operating in Poland are in the pay of the Jewish Agency for Palestine? What a shabby, shoddy adding of insult to injury!

Nor shall we readily forget the incident at Bergen-Belsen in the British zone of occupied Germany where Jewish displaced persons were prevented from demonstrating their desire for Palestine, and where German guards were permitted to beat the demonstrators. With what pious pretense that same government now, at UN sessions, espouses the right of refugees to engage in propaganda!

Yes, we proudly assert that there is an organized international effort to help Jews who are compelled to flee for their lives from the hell holes where life is intolerable. There is an organized effort to throw these Jews a life-line which leads to Palestine where they can truly live. The effort is organized; for when a house is burning, the rescue must be organized; otherwise there is panic and stampede. The effort is international and therefore the more noble and the more likely to succeed. If the war against Hitler had not become an organized international effort, Europe itself might be under Hitler's heel today, and Great Britain itself might be biting the dust. But we resent the slur that there is a conspiracy to simulate emergency. If there is an ignoble, shameful conspiracy, it is the conspiracy of the British Government to force Jews to perish in Europe.

I do not hesitate to predict that Britain's decline as a great power will not be mourned or regretted or resisted by decent men if Britain

continues to breach honor and to tread decency underfoot. More than once in the course of humanity's checkered history the Jewish people has witnessed the decline and fall of faithless, heartless empires!

It is clear that the problems of the Jews in Europe, problems of rehabilitation, restitution and reparations, as well as the problem of the right of the Jewish people to Palestine, will call for the best thinking and the most energetic action of responsible Jewish bodies for some time to come. Who will say that we have completed or nearly completed the task of helping in the solution of these problems arising out of the war? The question therefore of the future of this body challenges our attention. It is not unrelated to the subject of this evening's symposium, for it is a question of how American Jewry can most effectively continue to exercise its responsibilities toward and in behalf of Jews abroad for whom the emergency arising out of the war continues. May I devote the closing portion of my address to this point on which you have the right to know the view of your Co-Chairman?

It may seem supererogatory to pose the question: Has the American Jewish Conference justified itself? Unfortunately, however, there are those inside and outside the Conference who are prone to berate its record either because they honestly consider the record to be slight, or because, in their petulance over the exclusion of the American Scene from the scope of the Conference, they fail to evaluate fairly what has been accomplished within the limited scope. I should like to see a permanent body such as this come into being and I should like to see the American Scene included within the scope of such a permanent body. But impatient eagerness for these objectives should not be permitted to distort the proper evaluation of what this body has accomplished within its limited sphere. I find that to be one of the difficulties in the mood of some of the delegates.

There may be some who, under the impact of general disappointment with the Jewish position in the world today, may believe that the American Jewish Conference has not justified its existence up to now. Yet, they must admit that by the same criterion, all other bodies have failed. Indeed one might say that the United Nations are not justifying their existence, judging by the state of the world today. Obviously, this type of argument leads nowhere.

Others may say that the American Jewish Conference has not justified its existence because it has not succeeded in securing and holding the adherence of all the major groups in American Jewish life, with the result that there is a "babel" of Jewish tongues at international conclaves. In all fairness, however, it should be remembered that while at Evian, there were more than thirty Jewish bodies making representations before the governments; in San Francisco there was the American Jewish Conference speaking in the name of more than sixty organizations, and there were only a few Jewish organizations there which were not in the American Jewish Conference. In Washington recently, before the Palestine Inquiry Committee, there was again the American Jewish Conference speaking for its organizations, and there were only a few additional bodies. Of course it would have been better if the American Jewish Conference could have spoken for all the American Jewish bodies, but it could have been much worse. Governmental authorities who take the trouble to weigh credentials know how to assess the representative democratic character of our organization in comparison with other organizations.

If at San Francisco the trusteeship chapter was so phrased as to protect the existing rights of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine; if before our Government and before American and world public opinion, and recently before the Palestine Inquiry Committee, there was a voice which could speak for the overwhelming majority of the American Jewry in protest against the British White Paper and in espousal of the aim of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth; if conditions in the German camps have been improved in no inconsiderable measure as a result of our persistence with the War Department in Washington, with UNRRA, and with other bodies; if the entry of Jews from Poland into the American zone has not been stopped as had been often threatened; if the Jews in the camps have been able to meet a representative team of American Jews who did not make them feel as others did, that they came to make things easier for Mr. Bevin, but who made them feel that they and we are one people with one destiny; if 20,000 Jews in Shanghai have been saved from deportation as enemy aliens; if a coordinated representation, consisting of the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of

British Jews, has been formed to present a united front on behalf of the great majority of the Jews of the world; it is due to the fact that the American Jewish Conference has existed and has functioned.

What worsened chaos, what multiplied confusion and what aggravated frittering of energies there would have been if sixty national organizations had been speaking with sixty strident and competing voices instead of speaking as they have spoken with one voice, the voice of the American Jewish Conference!

Is there need for this body to continue? Perhaps it is possible for us sitting in this comfortable hall, in this comfortable land, to debate the question. But anyone who has seen our brothers and sisters in Europe, as has been my privilege, has talked with them, and has heard from their lips how desperately they look to the Jews of America not only for material aid, but as much and more for political intercession and for protection and safeguarding of rights, can have no doubts on the subject. I wish it were possible to find the magic formula whereby our temporary character might disappear. There was indeed a moment when I thought such a formula could be worked out by which we might almost automatically be born into permanence, but I am persuaded that it is not as simple as appeared on the surface.

There might be a fatal gap of chaos between the ending and the beginning. Therefore we must hold on with all our strength to what we have; and we must make sure that this Conference continues undiminished up to the moment its successor, broader in scope, is born. One thing is certain. Viewed from the European point of vantage as I was able to view the situation last summer, and from the point of view of Jewish needs related to Europe and Palestine, the continued, undiminished existence of the American Jewish Conference is a "must." It is imperative as long as the five R's arising out of the war are still in the process of being solved, namely, resettlement, reparations, restitution, reconstruction and rehabilitation.

I recall for example my conversations with Jewish leaders and organizations in France last summer. Eagerly they sought information about the American Jewish Conference, how it came into being, how it is composed, and what is its full program. They were happy to know that in this body were integrated religious and non-religious groups,

Zionists and non-Zionists, organizations of differing economic and political views. They seemed to be as much concerned with American Jewish unity as we are ourselves; nay, more than we, in one sense, namely, that since American Jewry is their big brother, they felt that our strength was also their strength and that our weakness would be their misfortune. How much more desperately eager and prayerful for our undiminished strength and continued function must be the Jewish Communities of Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, and other countries where Jewish conditions are so much worse than they are in France. The American Jewish Conference, with all its limitations, is still the best organization we have for the defense of Jewish rights and needs abroad and must not be impaired or curtailed.

Contrary to what had been anticipated in Pittsburgh in 1943, when the original call for the Conference was issued, the war's end is followed not by a Peace Conference but by a piece-meal Peace. As long therefore as the peace is in the making and as long as problems in connection with it continue to demand our vigilance, our intervention, and our intercession, we have no choice but to go on making our program and our representative capacity felt wherever it is needed. Now that the UNO is at our own door step, the sin would lie literally "at our door," if in the crucial period immediately ahead—when the nations of the world are going to make fundamental decisions, casting the dye for years ahead—American Jewry, the hope of the Jewish world, should be retreating instead of advancing in the role of advocate and spokesman for the needs of our people. This is no time for a body that has been established after great labor and has done a creditable piece of work to indulge itself in Hamletic soliloquies of "To be, or not to be."

Fellow delegates: We are coming to our Third Session with more seasoned maturity, more ramified experience, more creditable accomplishments and more harmonious group comradeship as the result of working together. We are coming to the Third Session therefore prepared to render even more effective service in the decisive year which lies ahead. With all our shortcomings, which should neither be glossed over nor exaggerated, we have two positive advantages of tremendous value. Our credentials are more valid than those of any other existing body in American Jewish life, and our attitude, program and approach to the problems of Jewish

life are more realistic and more understanding of the Jewish needs and of the Jewish people.

We hold a mandate, I feel, not merely from American organizations and communities but from the Jews overseas, both living and dead. The Yishuv of Palestine, risking life and limb in order to end once and for all time the tragedy-smearred trail of the refugee and to begin, for all who need, the new dispensation—home and freedom in Palestine—it looks to us to strengthen its hand. The children saved from the Nazi ovens, acquainted with lamentations—they look to us to open for them the Book of Consolation. The men and women, miraculously spared but miserably afflicted, whatever be their formal status in the lands of Europe—they look to us to plead their cause, restoration to human dignity. And the millions of martyred dead—their mandate too is upon us, to see to it that their deaths shall not have been a vain sacrifice. From all directions the exhortation presses in upon us—today and tomorrow and tomorrow, “With this, your strength, go forward to help and save our people.”

. . .

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—May I inform you that Dr. Zalman Grinberg left on a private transport plane yesterday morning. We are expecting him to arrive here tonight or early tomorrow morning; therefore, he cannot be with us this evening.

Under the circumstances, we have to change our program for this evening. One of our speakers, who was previously scheduled to address you on Tuesday, has consented to speak tonight. I have the pleasure of presenting to you the Director of the Institute for Jewish Affairs for the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Jacob Robinson. [Applause.]

Dr. Robinson will speak to you on the Nuremberg trials. May I take advantage of the present occasion also to explain that Dr. Robinson has been of outstanding service to the American Jewish Conference on numerous occasions, particularly in San Francisco. It is with especial pleasure that I greet him tonight on your behalf. [Applause.]

Address Dr. Jacob Robinson

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: It is embarrassing to me to have to report to you on our joint activities in a field where we had considerable success. This embarrassment is due to the fact that if we were successful, it was not so much because we were very efficient, but because the crime committed against the Jewish people was of such magnitude that the old methods of philo-Semitism (which try to avoid reference to the word "Jew") could not operate.

The grandiose drama that was going on for twelve years—from 1933 to 1945—unfolds itself a second time in Nuremberg. It is a drama that covers a continent; it covers millions of acts; it covers twelve years. This is the answer to those who believe that the trial is being dragged out, that it goes on too long, that it is time to have it all ended.

We are not interested so much in seeing that people are hanged as we are in knowing why they are hanged. If a miracle had happened and all the twenty-two defendants in Nuremberg had been found dead in their cells, that would have been no solution to the problem, because the world would not have known, by verdict of an authoritative international tribunal, for what they died and why they died.

It is not a problem of having people hanged; it is a problem of educating the world for things to come. This could not be done without the trial, but a trial must be accepted as a trial, even if it takes six or seven months, and even if the defense makes a good case. We have reason enough to believe that the result will be one we expect.

The trial in Nuremberg is certainly the most fantastic that could have been held in a world which is used to fantastic things. I don't believe the disclosure of the atom bomb is more fantastic than the experience of being in this ruined city and seeing in the dock twenty-two leading men of the Nazi Party—seeing in the dock in fact, a government of the Nazi Regime; seeing, in reality, something more than that: a people, a nation on trial.

That has never happened before, and I don't know if it is going to happen again in the next two thousand years. Therefore, what is going

on today in Nuremberg is indeed extraordinary—and we should not be hasty in our judgment.

What is our interest in the Nuremberg trial? A very simple one. We want justice, not vengeance. Can there be revenge for such a loss as we have suffered? Some may even doubt that justice can be done considering the losses and the casualties, but we believe that if the result will be what we expect, justice will be done.

Now, what was our fight? Why were we so involved in the fight for a certain approach to the problem of war crimes, for practically three years, between the grandiose drama lasting twelve years—from 1933 to 1945—and the second drama now being enacted? In Nuremberg there was, in the interim, a third drama, one which the people don't know very much about, but which was as interesting, I would say, as fascinating as the first two dramas. There was a tremendous debate in the world. Would this tribunal present these twelve years as they were really enacted, or would pseudonyms be substituted for the real names of the victims? The problem was in reality a very simple one. Should the Jews and their sufferings be presented as the sufferings of a people or as the sufferings of "citizens" of the various countries?

For three years the debate went on, and it appeared that we were going to lose this battle as we had lost many others. Suddenly, however, America asserted her world leadership, and one of the expressions of this assertion of leadership was the appointment of Justice Jackson as Chief of Counsel for the United States Government in the prosecution of war criminals. [Applause.]

Two tremendous innovations were introduced at the Nuremberg trial. The first makes those responsible for the preparation and waging of a war of aggression personally answerable to a tribunal. That is something that never happened before. Even when Napoleon was sent to the Island of St. Helena, there was no trial, no tribunal. The Kaiser went to Doorn.

This certainly represents tremendous progress which has in it potentialities for the future. If statesmen know that not only their people but they themselves will be destroyed in case of an unsuccessful war of aggression, they will be more careful in making their decisions.

The second innovation in which we are interested is a recognition

of "crimes against humanity," of which the most outstanding was the crime against the Jewish people. We recognized war crimes in the technical sense as violations of various conventions; but crimes against humanity, crimes that began in 1933—six years before the war started—crimes against citizens of Germany, the very country which started this war—crimes against humanity had never been brought before an international tribunal. There was no precedent for this.

That the present tribunal has established these two principles is certainly a matter of which we as Americans have sufficient reason to be proud. That is the second part of our success. If the first was the magnitude of the crime, the second was the emergence of America as a world power which would not be bound by precedents. As Justice Jackson said: "We cannot deny that our own day has its right to institute customs and to conclude agreements that will themselves become sources of a newer and strengthened international law." The precedent is now being created in Nuremberg.

After these two factors comes the third factor: the watchfulness of American and world Jewry and a certain contribution which we have made to the success of the trial. This trial proved, first of all, one thing—something that we know and maybe everybody knew, but nobody wanted to realize, namely, that while the Nazis might have thought of the possibility of defeat, they did not think that even in case of defeat, their anti-Jewish crimes would have to be accounted for. Otherwise, there is no explanation of why the Nazis accumulated evidence against themselves in such abundance that the American Army had tremendous difficulty in sifting the material.

The moment I touch upon the activities of the American Army, I think it is only fair to say that you cannot overlook the tremendous effort that had been made during the last two or three months of the war to have all this material gathered, sifted and organized. The tribunal in Nuremberg, though international, has so far been predominantly an American show, not only because American ideas prevail, not only because ninety-five per cent of all the evidence was collected by the American Army, not only because, out of the twenty-two criminals, twenty were apprehended by the American Army, not only because the seat of the trial is in the American zone of occupation, not only because American genius of organization made it possible, but, what is more important,

because a young nation had the power and the determination to go ahead in the face of old, accepted principles and precedents.

However, it would be wrong to claim that what we were about to witness in Nuremberg, was clear from the beginning. It was not.

The intermediate drama ended the moment Justice Jackson was appointed, but even after his appointment, there were difficulties. There were many difficulties before the charter of the International Tribunal was signed. There were difficulties before the indictment was signed. There were difficulties before the various counts were compiled.

Was there going to be a Jewish count or not? Would there be a special section, or maybe a day or two, devoted to the anti-Jewish crimes? Or would the anti-Jewish crimes be obscured among the numerous crimes of looting of foreign property, mistreatment of prisoners of war, mistreatment of civilian populations, looting of art objects, and so on and so forth?

I think again that it was the American view that prevailed. Please notice that while the French and the Russian prosecutors are making very frequent references to the Jewish case, only the American representatives had a special Jewish count.

Everybody wants to have a Jewish case presented for a very simple reason. It is the most convincing and conclusive of all cases. While in other cases you have to look for evidence, here we are overwhelmed with evidence. It is a very dubious privilege to have such a case.

It is, however, more important that not only was a special day, or a day and a half, devoted to the presentation of this case, but that Justice Jackson, in his magnificent opening speech, which will probably be one of the most important forensic speeches in all history, found that it was not disproportionate to devote ten pages out of sixty to the Jewish case, a proportion which many people felt was the correct one. I believe it is only fitting that the records of the American Jewish Conference should contain some excerpts from his speech.

If I quote from his remarks it is chiefly because neither the English nor the Yiddish press has given any picture of what has been going on in Nuremberg from the Jewish viewpoint. You find in Justice Jackson's speech, in the section entitled, "Crimes Against The Jews," the following sentences:

"What we charge against these defendants is not those arrogances and

pretensions which frequently accompany the intermingling of different peoples and which are likely, despite the honest efforts of government, to produce regrettable crimes and convulsions. It is my purpose to show a plan and design, to which all Nazis were fanatically committed, to annihilate all Jewish people. . . .

"The persecution of the Jews was a continuous and deliberate policy. It was a policy directed against other nations as well as against the Jews themselves. . . .

"The avowed purpose was the destruction of the Jewish people as a whole, as an end in itself, as a measure of preparation for war, and as a discipline of conquered peoples. . . .

"History does not record a crime ever perpetrated against so many victims or one ever carried out with such calculated cruelty. . . .

"You will have difficulty, as I have, to look into the faces of these defendants and believe that in this Twentieth Century human beings could inflict such sufferings as will be proved here on their own countrymen as well as upon their so-called 'inferior' enemies. There is shown 'such a continuity of Jewish persecution from the rise of the Nazi conspiracy to its collapse as forbids us to believe that any person could be identified with any part of Nazi action without approving this most conspicuous item of its programs.'"

And here is the summation: "We charge that all atrocities against Jews were the manifestation and culmination of the Nazi plan to which every defendant here was a party. I know very well that some of these men did take steps to spare some particular Jew for some personal reason from the horrors that awaited the unrescued Jew. Some protested that particular atrocities were excessive, and discredited the general policy. While a few defendants may show efforts to make specific exceptions to the policy of Jewish extermination, I have found no instance in which any defendant opposed the policy itself or sought to revoke or even modify it.

"Determination to destroy the Jews was a binding force which at all times cemented the elements of this conspiracy. On many internal policies there were differences among the defendants. But there is not one of them who has not echoed the rallying cry of Nazism: 'Germany awake, Jewry perish!'"

One of Justice Jackson's assistants, Lieutenant Colonel Walsh, a non-

Jew and a Catholic, who presented the Jewish case on behalf of humanity, has this to say, and I think you will all feel as I do, that no one of us could have said it better.

"This title ["The Persecution of the Jews"] is singularly inappropriate when weighed in the light of the evidence to follow. Academically, I am told that to persecute is to inflict, harass and annoy. The title does not convey and, indeed, I cannot conjure a term that does convey the ultimate aim, the avowed purpose to obliterate the Jewish race.

"This presentation is not intended to be a complete recital of all the crimes committed against the Jews. The extent and scope of these crimes was so great that it permeated the German nation, its people and its organization."

Here are a few concluding sentences:

"The slaughter of the Jews in Europe cannot be judged in figures alone, for the impact of this slaughter is even more tragic to the future of the Jewish people and mankind. Ancient Jewish communities, with their own rich spiritual, cultural, economic life, bound up for centuries with the life of the nations in which they flourished, have been completely obliterated. The contribution of Jewish people to civilization, the arts, the sciences, industry and culture need not, I am sure, be elaborated before this tribunal. Their destruction, carried out continuously, deliberately, intentionally and now methodically by the Nazis, represents a loss to civilization of special qualities and abilities which cannot probably be recouped. I have not attempted to recount the multitudinous and diabolical crimes committed against Jewish people by the state which these defendants ruled because, with sober regard for contemporary and historical truth, a detailed description of some of these crimes would transcend the utmost reaches of the human faculty of expression. The mind already recoils and shrinks from the acceptance of the incredible facts already related. . . . Yet, the cold, stark, brutal facts and figures, drawn largely from the defendants' own sources and submitted in evidence to this tribunal, defy rebuttal. From conception to execution, from the program of 1920 to the glowing declarations of Himmler and Frank in 1943 and 1944—the annihilation of the Jewish people in Europe was man-made, made by the very men sitting in the defendants' box, brought together before this tribunal."

It is important for us to realize that crimes against humanity could have been submitted by us, and, in fact, you will recall that in our resolutions we asked for a Jewish *amicus curiae* to be admitted before the court to state our case. We lost this fight, and I believe that is all to the good. It makes a great difference if a crime against humanity is presented by the victims or presented by humanity itself. The tribunal, which is the embodiment of the will of the four greatest powers in the world, and to which eighteen more powers adhere, and to which there was no opposition in the neutral countries, is indeed the personification of the conscience of the world, and when Justice Jackson or Lieutenant Colonel Walsh spoke, they spoke not only in their own names, not only in the name of the American prosecution, not only in the name of the prosecution of the whole case, but in the name of all of humanity.

I believe that these voices were heard everywhere and it is reasonable to believe that, given our ability to make the necessary use of these statements, the moral case of the Jewish people can be won. I say can be won; I do not say has been won. There are still certain difficulties.

A political body does not usually close its eyes to difficulties. It is appropriate to face them. First of all, we have not yet heard the verdict. We don't know what the four silent judges think.

You must not forget that you need at least three votes to have one of these twenty-two men and one of these numerous organizations condemned. Whether we will have three votes for condemnation or only two, or maybe all four of them, only the future will tell.

We don't yet know what is going to happen to the organizations. The indictment of organizations is a revolutionary departure which has certain precedents in American practice, a departure which attempts to declare organizations criminal. Will such organizations as, for instance, the National Socialist Party, with a membership of eight million, of which there is a full card index in the American zone, be declared criminal? We don't yet know. I don't believe that we will be satisfied with the condemnation of the twenty-two men and the acquittal of the criminal organizations.

There are other difficulties. Redeployment makes itself very strongly felt in Nuremberg. In the section in which we have been working—Section 4, "Crimes against Humanity"—out of nine people, two remain.

Will the two be able to continue and to work as efficiently as the nine did? I am not so sure about that.

There is the same breakdown in other sections. The trial is being held together by the authority of the Americans. I am deeply convinced that should Justice Jackson leave, a major calamity would occur. We will be faced with great difficulties in the next month and we will have to help. As a matter of fact, only recently one more call for help came.

I am sure that whatever we should do to help the prosecution, will be done. It is a job which has been going on for years and will probably still go on for months, but the moral is that *we* have also done a little bit in order to bring these men to trial, in order to produce an indictment that charges them with their specific crimes against Jews.

Don't look for pseudonyms like "stateless," "displaced persons," but call a spade a spade, a Jew a Jew. The voice of humanity has spoken in words which will remain forever in the annals of history. No matter how just the verdict, our success will be darkened by the realization that whatever is going to happen is certainly minimal and unimportant as compared with what has happened to us.

The greatest justice that we are going to get from Nuremberg and the greatest number of condemnations that are going to come out of the Nuremberg trial will not be a consolation, but will be a very small fraction of a consolation to us. We have lost so much and we can certainly win only one thing: a realization by the world that it cannot withstand a repetition of the Jewish tragedy. [Applause.]

. . .

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—Mr. Kenen will now make a few announcements. I will ask all to remain seated until this meeting is formally closed.

MR. KENEN—I am going to announce the meetings that will be held tonight and tomorrow morning. Before doing that, I should like to impress upon the delegates the fact that they must register. A number of delegates have not yet registered and the work of the committees is held up as a result.

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—The meeting will now adjourn to Monday, at 2 p.m.

[The meeting was adjourned at 10:20 p.m.]

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 18TH

Henry Monsky, presiding

CHAIRMAN MONSKY [opened the meeting at 2:30 p.m.]—Will the Conference please come to order, ladies and gentlemen. The first report to be made this afternoon will be by Mr. Charles Mishkin of Chicago, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Report of Committee on Credentials

MR. MISHKIN—Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: Two meetings of the Credentials Committee were held, one yesterday afternoon and another this morning. The Committee wishes to report that a total of 434 delegates and alternates have been certified to attend this Third Session of the Conference. Up to noon today, 353 delegates had registered. Of this total, 187 were regularly elected delegates; 85 delegates represented organizations; and 81 were alternates or replacements.

The Committee received and acted upon two challenges, but neither challenge was sustained. My attention has been called to the fact that there may be some delegates in attendance who have not registered. I would urge that if there are any such, they should be sure to register no later than this afternoon—first, so that they may participate in any voting that will take place at this Conference; and, secondly, so that their names may be included in the list of delegates which will be published as part of the proceedings of this Conference.

This concludes my report, Mr. Chairman.

[The assembly adopted the report.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the General Committee, has a supplemental report to make.

Admission of New Organizations

MR. LIPSKY—This report, relating to the admission of new organizations, comes from the General Committee and has its full approval. The

question of the admission of new organizations was referred to a subcommittee, which drew up a report unanimously approving the admission of the following three organizations: the Federation of Bessarabian Jewish Societies, with one seat; the Federation of Palestinian Jews, with one seat; the Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity,* with two seats. The subcommittee found that all three organizations qualified under the rules of the Conference. It submitted its report to the General Committee, which now takes the privilege of recommending to you its acceptance.

[The CHAIR called for a motion approving the report. Whereupon MOISHE RIVLIN moved that the three organizations be considered separately. Accordingly, a vote was taken in each case and the three organizations were seated within the Conference. The report of the Committee on Organization was not quite ready and a brief recess was taken.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Ladies and gentlemen: I did not know when the recess was called that we were in a position to fill in that time with what may be, and I anticipate will be, one of the highlights of the Conference. Will you please go back to your seats?

Fellow delegates: It has been one of my very rare privileges on more than one occasion to listen to what I consider are the most inspirational and educational messages that I have ever had the pleasure of hearing. At the Washington hearing before the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee on Palestine, I was not only thrilled, but particularly gratified to see the impact that was made upon the Committee by the next speaker as one of the witnesses. Next only to, and perhaps almost equal to, the impression that was made by the incomparable Dr. Stephen Wise upon the Committee, was the impression that was made on that Committee by the First Lady of Hadassah, Mrs. Judith Epstein. [Applause.]

* Since the Third Session this organization has changed its name to the American Jewish Labor Council. It is, however, referred to in the *Proceedings* by its original name, the Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity.

Address Mrs. Moses P. Epstein

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: This talk was to have been given tonight as part of the Palestine agenda, for it deals directly with the Palestine problem. There is a very distinguished visitor from abroad who could not arrive here in time for last night's session. And in order that he might have the kind of audience and attention not only of this delegation, but of the Cleveland community, I was very glad to speak to you this afternoon. As a matter of fact, it should be in a sense a preparation for what Dr. Grinberg has to tell you tonight, for it deals with the problem of which he is the living exponent—the problem of the Jewish people after the terrible holocaust.

It had seemed to me, and I was one of the members of the Program Committee who urged it, that an analysis of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee from the hearings already held was of utmost importance to this body. First and foremost, the American Jewish Conference which represents the largest and most powerful Jewish community in the world will have to speak not only today, but tomorrow, on this problem.

The UN is to be located in America. That means that America is to play a stellar role not only in the war, as it had, but in peace; and that the nations of the world are not going to allow America to withdraw again into its shell, but will insist that it play that stellar role in the period to come.

The Palestine problem will have to be on that agenda. It is part of the whole Middle East turbulence that cries out for solution. The Jewish problem, too, cries out for a solution which the nations of the world can no longer avoid. And so we know that that which we here regard as our problem will be dealt with as a world problem here on our own scene.

From the point of view of the Jewish scene with which the American Jewish Conference is concerned, Palestine is woven into the web of the whole Jewish picture. What shall be the task of the Rescue Commission and what are the rescue problems? It is impossible to think of that without Palestine. Even the reparations question which Dr. Robinson touched upon last night and dealt with is inextricably tied up with the Palestine problem. Therefore, a Committee which is preparing a report and recom-

mentations to America and Great Britain will have great bearing on what is to be the next move in this important drama of our generation and life. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of trying to trace the political and moral climate in which this Committee was born.

England found itself, and has found itself since the outbreak of war, administering a mandate granted by a non-existent League of Nations. It is ruling Palestine under a White Paper which was declared illegal by the Permanent Mandates Commission of that League of Nations. That White Paper was born in an era which is best signified by the now famous remark of the then Foreign Minister, Lord Halifax, himself a great churchman and a believer in organized religion, who said at the St. James Conference: "Gentlemen, there are times when ethical considerations must give way to administrative expediency." That was the keynote of that period—a keynote which led England into the most terrible war it has ever had to face in its history.

One might have thought that the coming of war would have changed that policy. It didn't. There were very many explanations and rationalizations. The Arabs had to be mollified, the Jews did not, White Paper or no White Paper. The words of Ben Gurion proved very true: "We will fight the war as though there were no White Paper. We will fight the White Paper as though there were no war."

England's enemy was the enemy of the Jewish people; the Jewish people was an ally of Great Britain.

Churchill continued the White Paper policy in spite of his magnificent speech when he was a member of the Opposition, on the ground that the war demanded that again the Arabs be appeased. The Labor Party on the other hand, not being the government but the Opposition, led the opposition to the White Paper not only when it was passed, at which time Herbert Morrison made that ringing speech in which he said: "We want you to know that the Labor Party, if and when it comes into power, will not be committed by this iniquitous document." The Labor Party used that issue as all groups out of power use it, just because it is an ethical concept and the ethical concept makes an excellent point when you are in the opposition against the government that is using expediency.

Then came the Resolution of the Labor Party which you have heard many times, only six months before that Labor Party came into power.

Then came liberation and V-E Day. Those of you and all who listened to Mr. Lipsky know the picture that we have all had to witness—a dying of the hope and the jubilation and the joy that came to all of us on that day; the growing horror of the situation arising not only from the misery which each day becomes clearer, but from the knowledge that we are part of a world that has become so calloused and that has so lost its sense of values that it can be hardened to a tragedy of such proportions as should break down every bit of resistance in decent peoples and decent nations.

The next step was the London Conference held by the World Zionist Organization, where a delegation visited the Colonial Office. I had the privilege of being one of those delegates, representing one part of the American Zionist groups. All of us felt then, although the Labor Party had been in power, I think, only about two weeks, that the old adage, "Put not thy faith in princes," was something that would have to be carefully watched.

The Colonial Minister said, with the suave use of the English language for which English statesmen are famous: "It is not necessary for me to express His Majesty's Government's deep sympathy with the Jewish plight. We know that sympathy is not enough. But there are obligations to other peoples, and we are sure that the Jewish people understand that."

At just this time came Earl Harrison's report, his letter to President Truman and the request for 100,000 certificates. It looked as though President Truman in simple humanitarianism, approaching the problem anew, without any of the legal entanglements, might secure at least the first step in meeting the problem of the displaced Jews in Germany and Austria.

We soon found out that that was not to be; that the correspondence and the talks which took place between the two countries led to a whittling down of the request, to the final decision to establish another commission to make an investigation and a survey and bring in recommendations—an old, old game, but this time with a very important difference. This time it was an Anglo-American Committee. America was to share responsibility for the onus of whatever the decision was with England. America might very well have refused and said: "You are still

the Mandatory Power. It is your responsibility. It is your White Paper. You solve this problem." But America, for whatever reason, chose to share it. So a Committee of twelve men was set up and came to America for the first hearings. The hearings opened in Washington on January 7th.

What were the terms of reference? Very significantly, there was no allusion whatsoever to anything that had gone before; to the legal basis for the whole Zionist movement; to the presence of 600,000 Jews in Palestine; the Balfour Declaration; the Mandate. Quite the contrary. Bevin's statement in setting up the Inquiry Committee showed that there was no sense of commitment to anything that had gone before. The Committee was to find out whether the Jews could be absorbed where they now were; whether they could be accepted in other lands; and whether Palestine could absorb them in the light of the economic and political problems inherent in Palestine.

There was a debate in the Zionist movement as to whether or not official Zionists should testify before that Committee. And I must say that there were two sides to that question. There were those who said unless this inquiry is established on some basis—the basis of which I spoke before—there is no point in our appearing. Dr. Silver, the President of the Zionist Organization of America and Co-Chairman of the Emergency Council, believing so keenly that it was unwise to testify, refused, himself, to testify.

The Zionist movement felt differently, and with some reluctance—as Dr. Wise expressed it publicly at the Committee hearings, with great reluctance—we prepared the case, in a very short time. We had no idea the Committee members were going to meet in Washington. We had so few days that the lawyers who were part of the Committee said: "It is impossible to be done." The Committee said: "It will be done." And it was done. We had to have printed documents in before we were allowed to appear. The documents were prepared, and I think there is a general consensus of opinion they were excellent. They presented the case—the printed documents—with accuracy and persuasive logic.

The witnesses, too, had a fine case to present, because it is a good case. It is a case that lends itself to a very persuasive presentation.

I must say—and this is personal—that my own reaction to the questions that were put, to the reactions, as far as we could judge, of the men sitting as judges, was that there was much basis to the fear that had been expressed that this Committee was not really an inquiry committee; but rather that it was an attempt to find some compromise between two warring groups and to bring in some kind of a solution that would, for the time being, bring some surcease of the difficulty and tension in the land. That isn't, of course, a categorical statement and it isn't true for all. There were men on the Committee, notably Americans, who showed by their interest and by their questions that they were not trying to judge between two rights.

The Zionists disagree that this is a question of two rights. It was said by many of the witnesses that the question of the rights of the Arab peoples had been taken care of after the First World War. Then the Arab countries were freed from Turkish rule. They were given their independence for the first time in hundreds of years. During this period between the two wars, they had not only attained independence; they were given full status. At San Francisco, five Arab states held seats in the United Nations. And this, mind you, in spite of the fact—and nobody except *The New York Times* denies it, through the words of its special correspondent, Gene Currivan—in spite of the fact that the Arabs lacked only the last courage to stab England in the back; that they waited for Rommel to trample down the gates into Alexandria before actually rebelling, and changed their tune only when it was very clear that the Axis was to be defeated, in contradistinction to the Jews who had given complete cooperation of manpower and material. Nevertheless, the question of justice to both peoples was brought up again and again at this Inquiry Committee in spite of the fact that all that was given to the Jews in contradistinction to what was given to the Arabs is what Arthur Balfour called "this little notch." There seemed to be no understanding that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was an attempt not to solve a temporary refugee problem at all, but to get to the crux and the core of the problem of Jewish homelessness; that this was to be a reconstitution of a people and a nation on its old, ancient land.

If any of the judges knew it, they gave very little indication of such knowledge—always with some notable exceptions—in their questioning.

Now, I am perfectly willing to say that this is no way to judge, just by question; but these are impressions which many people, spectators and journalists, gained from the inquiries.

The judges, however, were very much affected and personally reacted to many people and to many approaches. Mr. Monsky has told you of the reaction to Dr. Wise. I must say a few words on that. First of all, I must tell you that his erudition overpowered the Committee. For instance, when he said, "Zionism is a continuum, an awkward phrase bequeathed to us by German metaphysics," they were bowled over and lost all their resistance. [Laughter.] Quite outside of that, I have to tell you that I have rarely seen any one person make such a deep impression on such a variegated group of human beings, drawn from such different backgrounds and with such different interests.

What Dr. Wise did was, first and foremost—I was going to say establish, he did establish that fact for the moment; unhappily the impression didn't last, I am afraid—that Zionism transcended the refugee problem; that it had been organized long before the period of Hitler. He gave the history of the modern Zionist movement, which took on vitality and life because of his personal participation in all the negotiations. But he went much farther than that and gave the history of the Jewish people for whom Zionism was a dream that sustained them throughout the Dark Ages. He did more than that. He made of the Zionist movement something that was a symbol of the will of the human being, of the human race, to attain righteousness in this world in which we live.

He said, "I appeal to the Christian world"—and then with a very courtly bow to the British, he said, "I include England within that Christian world" [laughter and applause]—"I appeal to the Christian world which has allowed this terrible situation to occur, to make reparation to the Jewish people."

There were no questions. Really, those who would have asked questions were too deeply moved to do it.

They were very much touched by the story of Hadassah rehabilitation of the children—touched not only by their suffering, but by the thrilling story of what Palestine does to rehabilitate them.

They were very much impressed by Dr. Joseph Schwartz's testimony. They could not help but be impressed. The man has an integrity and

a knowledge that is based on facts, and they could not catch him no matter how hard they tried, because he was speaking the truth. A man who is speaking the truth never has to remember what he said ten minutes before because it is always the same. What he gave them was an undeniable picture which was particularly relevant at that moment. You know General Morgan had just two or three weeks before come out with his blasts. And what Dr. Schwartz said was what we all should have said: "It is no conspiracy and it is no secret that the Jews want to leave Poland. They are sitting on their valises." He talked of what occurred in Hungary where he happened to be when Bevin's statement came out, the insulting statement which said the Jew should stay in Europe to help build up Europe—which apparently was a line in Europe at that time. I remember that Anne O'Hare McCormick in her column wrote about an American columnist in Europe who said it would be tragic if the Jews were to leave Europe, since they are the "leaven in the lump."

What Schwartz told the Committee was that the Hungarian Jews said: "We are tired of that role. We have helped build up Hungary for a thousand years. We have given it all our devotion and all our patriotism. With what result? With the result that we were thrown out at the first indication of difficulties in Hungary. When we rebuild, when we are the leaven, then we want to build for what we consider our security for our future generations." [Applause.]

This attempt to show that it was possible to approach the Zionist solution and the solution of the Jewish problem through the humanitarian approach was brilliantly broken down by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who showed that the so-called humanitarian approach had brought about the most inhuman treatment of people in history. This is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. In Evian and Bermuda, the question of Palestine was off the agenda. Why? If it were purely humanitarian, here is a place where the whole population, the whole Jewish population wants to take the Jews in; where there were ample opportunities for employment, because it was wartime and there was a manpower shortage. The humanitarian approach would have dictated that this is where they should have gone. They said: "We cannot put Palestine on the agenda because of political considerations." So the humanitarian approach led to the

"Patria" and the "Struma," where men, women and helpless children were drowned.

There was a very interesting reaction on the part of the British to the accusations of cruelty. Michael Arlen once said: "The difference between the British and the French is that the British have lost their innocence but not their sense of guilt." [Laughter.] They couldn't take it. And Morrison, I believe, or another one came back over and over again on different occasions. "You didn't really mean that we were responsible for that. You must have understood we were standing alone with our backs against the wall." They had a need and an impulse to explain why they had brought about this terrible inhumanity.

What Dr. Neumann made clear was that only a political approach was a possible approach. He said, very correctly: "Just the business of getting them cross borders was political negotiation." We know that in Hadassah, because the business of moving children across the Balkans entailed innumerable negotiations with all kinds of governments.

I am reporting the proceedings not in any kind of chronological order, but topically. What followed was the crux of a situation, when Dr. Greenberg gave a definition of Jewish commonwealth—not a very easy definition to give. I give it to you now as a basis of the analysis of a few of the other witnesses, to show why I think this definition is correct.

He said: "Why do we call it Jewish?" First he talked why commonwealth instead of state, which is clear to you, I am sure. He said: "Why Jewish? Surely it is unnecessary to state that that does not mean that the non-Jewish inhabitants of such a state will not have complete equality of all rights. Jews who have suffered throughout the centuries from that kind of discrimination are not going to introduce in this twentieth century of democratic living that kind of iniquity and inequality. But," he said, "a Jewish state means a state in which Jews possess a numerical majority. Today, before that majority is achieved, the term 'Jewish commonwealth' has the character of a regulative principle. It is to say plainly to the world that Palestine must be designated by the international forces as the country for the solution of the Jewish problem and for the establishment of a Jewish numerical majority in that country."

Now, of course, to me it was very clear. I have to tell you it wasn't nearly so clear to Judge Hutcheson of Texas who explained that he

originally came from Scotland and he didn't want a Scotch state in Texas. I could not follow that reasoning at all.

It seemed to me that much of the testimony that followed, not necessarily Zionist, but of individual witnesses who were called by the government, clearly pointed up the need for establishing the principle that Palestine is not just another land where some immigrants may come as they may, perhaps, go to New Zealand or Australia, because of the humanitarian need of saving people who have been starving and murdered and killed; but that unless this country is designated and, therefore, built up in such a way as to make it possible for Jews to attain a majority status in that country, even the humanitarian objective cannot be achieved.

I don't know why that is so difficult to get across not only to non-Jews but to some Jews. Palestine is not a rich, lush land where you dig deep to bring up oil and coal and iron, making possible heavy industry and light industry. It is a denuded, sterile land where everything has to be done to create the absorptive capacity. You know the famous story of Dr. Weizmann and Lord Peel. When Lord Peel went to visit him in his laboratory and saw him working over a test-tube, he said to him: "What are you doing there, Dr. Weizmann?" And he said: "I am creating absorptive capacity." [Laughter.]

Now, it is very clear that unless there is a people who for the reason that they are to build this land up as their land, are willing to give to that land the ingenuity, the genius, the love that can create that absorptive capacity, it cannot take in the hundreds of thousands who need it so desperately.

Therefore I quote you the next witness, Robert Nathan, a keen economist who was taken on by a completely non-partisan group to make a completely non-partisan survey of the economic possibilities of Palestine. He said right away that he had no political point of view at all, no ideology at all. He was giving the facts.

I tell you and I hope I can convince you that his non-partisan, non-political testimony led to an unmistakably political conclusion. First of all, everybody was impressed by the thoroughness of his survey. I wish I could go into it. I haven't the time to show you what was done. Especially the men in this audience who understand economic and industrial life

would appreciate the kind of study that was made. He described to them how they took industry by industry and broke it down—for instance, manufacturing, which he was amazed to find had attained so much growth. They broke it down into three groups of production: for home consumption, for Middle East consumption and for world export. After they did that, they worked out costs, comparative costs with other lands. They worked out markets. They worked out freight rates—all this careful procedure in order to find out whether the products which Palestine can produce could compete with products produced elsewhere, in order to give the economic advantage that would make it possible to build up the country.

They did a study of vegetables. Mind you, they broke it down to vegetables grown on irrigated land where it costs more than vegetables grown on unirrigated land. Potash—everything in the country was analyzed carefully in order to work out their conclusions, which led them to these two conclusions. First is the fact that 100,000 could be taken in very quickly, in a year, this coming year, without any disruption of the economic life; that over a period of ten years, if the government did no more or very little more than it was doing now, 600,000 could be cared for; if the government was just reasonably cooperative, 1,125,000 over a period of ten years.

He pointed out that the fear that Palestine was living on the charity and the money of the world outside was absolutely untrue. He said Palestine, prior to the war, was self-sufficient for its own community. Obviously, it was not self-sufficient for pioneers and new people who are coming in. And he said, very correctly: "No country is." This country didn't take in millions without import of capital. We know what the banks in England and what the capitalists of England invested in this country in the railroads and other places, which made it possible to bring immigrants in who produced and built up the wealth of America. No small community is ever asked to build up a huge industry and enterprise without imported capital. He told them that 75 per cent of the capital up to this time had been brought in by the immigrants themselves. He went into schemes that would make it possible to compensate for that capital that is not now available, and came to the conclusion, as

I have said before, that there existed a sound economy which made for growth.

He blasted the Palestine Government for the slowness with which land is settled, which retards the agricultural developments; for the fact that they have done nothing with irrigation; for the fact that the price of fuel is scandalous. The oil comes from Iraq, and it comes through the pipes into Haifa; and it costs the same as oil from the United States landed in Haifa. A scandalous thing. He talked about dumping, which is one of the scandals of the Palestine Government.

He could have added many more examples. When Bernard Joseph was here, I remember he told us about the difficulties of securing lumber. The Jewish Agency wanted to buy lumber from Canada. The Government wanted them to buy from Turkey because they wanted to keep Turkey sweet within the Allied orbit. The Agency said they would be glad to. Turkey, knowing that the government was insisting that the Agency buy lumber from Turkey, asked a price—now, my figures may not be accurate—fifty times the cost of the lumber brought from Canada. If it is not that, it was a fantastically increased price which made it impossible for the Agency to buy lumber; which meant that the houses were not built; which meant that the Duke of Devonshire could get up in the House of Lords some months later and say: "You cannot bring people into Palestine because there are no houses."

Now, I say that the logical conclusion of his presentation is that, non-partisan or non-political as he may be, the important fact is that if the government is not interested or, as the case is here in Palestine, is inimical to the development of Palestine, the greatest humanitarian in the world—which I take it is Mr. Rosenwald—cannot bring 100,000 people into that country. It is too easy to strangle the economic possibilities through government function.

I remember when MacMichael was the High Commissioner. He had a reconstruction plan. The first plank was that Palestine is fundamentally and primarily an agricultural country. Why? Who says that Palestine cannot be made into an industrial country? Wonderful beginnings have been made. He knew exactly why he was saying it. You cannot absorb the number of people through an agricultural economy that you can through an industrial economy. If the government has the power to

enforce that, then all the thousands the humanitarians want to bring in can't be brought in.

Let me read you just the last part of Nathan's testimony to show you what I mean. Giving his conclusions, he said: "So far as what comes in the future, it is going to have to be a very positive, aggressive, imaginative program in all the categories I have criticized, if the country is going to make the most of its resources. If the policy is neutral, there is still a possibility. If the policy is aggressive, reasonable, constructive, the maximum which we have indicated can be achieved. But if the policy is really all out, it can go far beyond what we have suggested."

The next thing of importance—and I am almost at the end—was the testimony of the engineers. It was terrific. I have not the technical competence to go into the schemes as they were presented. But I recommend it to anybody who has that competence to read it. It is a thrilling adventure story.

The engineers were introduced by a soil conservation expert, Dr. Lowdermilk, who spoke with religious fervor. He said that the world must learn a lasting and righteous adjustment of people to their land resources; that unless people know how to conserve their land which is the source of food, he said the United Nations will have dumped in their lap the problem of everlasting war, because hungry people do not observe treaties, and hungry people go over their borders; hungry people are disaffected and do not have a good world.

He said that in order to conserve land and make the most of it, you must have two things. You must have knowledge and you must have men who have a love for the land. He told them how he went out at the request of our Department of Agriculture. He started in England and he went through France and Italy and Africa. He went through the lands that had been in history the great granaries of the world. He found utter devastation except in Palestine, this little notch, where he found men who loved the land, and because they loved it had learned how to conserve it. He said to them that unless we have this kind of people, we are not going to be able to have the kind of world we want. Unless in America we have that kind of people, we will lose the great advantages which we have had here.

Then he talked about the Arab landlords and the way they run the

landed estates. He said: "I suspect, gentlemen, some of your troubles are due to the fact that the landlords see danger ahead. When the people understand that they do not have to live on a starvation basis, their great power will be threatened."

Then he explained how when he was flying over Palestine he saw the Jordan Valley 1,300 feet below sea level, not far from the sea. Then he knew it would be possible to draw on the Mediterranean, drop it down for power, using the Dead Sea as an evaporation pan, first taking out all the sweet waters of the Jordan, to be drawn off and used for irrigation. He said that this will call for people, thousands of them.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, who is going to do a job like that? The British Government? They knew about this scheme or one like it. Some of the engineers said this was not a particularly new scheme. It was a variation of a scheme that had been in existence twenty, thirty years. The engineers of the Palestine Government knew about it. Of course they are not interested in doing it. Why? Do they need more people in that land? Not from Iraq which hasn't got enough people to build a simple irrigation ditch. Dr. Lowdermilk, not in testimony, but at another time, said to a group of Iraqis: "Why don't you build a simple irrigation ditch here? Your lands don't have to be this dry." They said: "We haven't got enough men to do it."

The Arabs aren't going to do it. They are not in need of making economic absorptive capacity for new Arabs to come in. Only the Jews, and what did the Jews do? When Lowdermilk brought the scheme back—and he went, you know, without having had any contact with the Zionists—it was the Zionists, the Jews who took up the idea, who saw to it that there was established here in America a survey with the engineers from the TVA, who employed John Savage, one of the great hydro-electric engineers of this country, a man who has done outstanding work for India and China. And Abel Wolman, who is the engineer of Baltimore and a teacher at Johns Hopkins, was made chairman of the board. The scheme was tested in every kind of way. Two men, Hayes and Savage, went to Palestine and examined it on the spot. It was presented to the Reclamation Bureau of the United States Department, who declared the scheme practical. As Wolman said: "It is not a grandiose scheme. It is a grand scheme."

I heard Hayes before he went to Palestine and I was so disappointed when I heard him. I don't know anything about engineering, but I had read Lowdermilk and I thought we would hear a great romantic story. All I heard from Hayes was the question of bond issue. He is a Scotchman, and he said: "I am a little worried. I know how those things fail for lack of people. They failed in Idaho where I come from. You have to have the people, and I don't know, etc."

He came back from Palestine and he said in his testimony: "It can be done because there are the people there who need it and want it and who will do it." It is a highly technical report he gave which must have impressed everybody there very much. I want to say one word about Wolman who made a wonderful witness. What he said transcended the importance of developing Palestine. He said two things that were important. He said that the lands that we are going to recover were once very fertile lands, and that it is a wise expenditure for the world to make to recover lands that were once fertile. He was very much involved with the war. He was over in Normandy, I think it was only ten days after D-Day, to look after the sanitary engineering problem of the conquered territory. He said that in 1942 there were war plans to send over pumps and machinery running into millions of dollars to be used in Holland should the Nazis inundate the land, because it was felt that economically that had to be done instantly in order to reclaim the soil for Holland. So he said: "This is the important thing which has to be done by a world that cannot allow any of its land to be lost."

Then he said one other thing. He said that we do not recognize national lines. We recognize watersheds. If the headwaters are in Syria and Lebanon, that is where they have to be tapped. For that there must be friendly relations with neighboring countries. That, ladies and gentlemen, means that the power that will negotiate with the other nations for the friendly relations must be interested in doing it. But that is something else. Another lesson and a very important one.

The men of the Inquiry Committee, especially the Englishmen, over and over again with a monotony that was maddening, talked about the Arabs. Said Sir John Singleton: "Surely if there were any Arab unemployment, you wouldn't want to bring in any more Jews." They were so worried about the Arabs of Palestine who, everybody acknowledges,

enjoy a status far, far ahead of the Arabs of other lands. Greenberg answered very well, but Wolman's implied answer is more important. If these Englishmen and others of their ilk are truly interested in the Arabs, there is such a wonderful opportunity to do something through this JVA Plan. A scheme like this would make a new Middle East. There would be renewed lives, renewed land. Where millions now starve, you would have millions leading the good life. That is the *quid pro quo*, not just to take care of the one million Arabs in Palestine who are not badly off. Not badly off! It has just been discovered what a large illegal immigration of Arabs go over into the despised Jewish land because it offers a better opportunity for them than the land from which they came. Here is an opportunity to do something on a grand, bold scheme for the Arab peoples, if they are honestly interested.

One last thing. At the Washington hearings, there was, of course, a negative side. I have left out all the testimony which would have spoilt the case. I think that the positive side was very much better, as a positive side always is. There were Arabs and there were missionaries who are fellow travelers if ever I saw them. They all used the same words, the same arguments. After the engineers had given evidence of this wonderful opportunity of fertilizing not only Palestine but the whole of the Middle East, Charles T. Bridgeman, not an engineer, who hadn't heard the testimony because he came in late, said: "There is no sense talking about bringing people into Palestine because half of it has no water and you can do nothing about it." This was after the three engineers, one of them from the TVA, had proven you could do it very well.

We had one Jewish gentleman, Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, who presented the case for the humanitarian approach and pleaded that no special privileges be given to the Jews.

I do not know how much of an impression he made. He got a great deal of time. On the other hand, I must say that his solution of taking up the unused immigration quotas of the war years when it was impossible to use them met with short shrift even from the British members. Mr. Crossman said to him: "Of course, I know it is presumptuous of me to tell you the laws of your country, but you know the Hungarian quota is very small. The largest quota is from Great Britain. Evidently there

aren't many displaced persons in Great Britain. Do you know how much the Hungarian quota is?"

"No, sir."

"Seven hundred. You wouldn't want all of the 700 to go to Jews. Say 350, multiplied by five—that wouldn't solve the Hungarian problem, would it?"

Now the Committee has left Washington. In Europe they have a chance to see for themselves what Dr. Schwartz and others were talking about. If they have eyes to see and ears to hear, they will know one answer anyway: that the overwhelming majority of Jews have only one fear in Europe. They have no fear of death any more. They have outfaced that fear. They have the fear of a loss of hope. And for them, rightly or wrongly, hope spells Palestine.

The Committee is on its way to Cairo. In Cairo they will meet with the Arab League. I don't know how they will be impressed. I wonder whether they will see the difference after they have been both in Palestine and Cairo between Egypt which, in the words of a very distinguished medical man who has just come back, is one, huge, pathological museum, and Palestine where the men, women and children are vibrant with health. I don't know whether they will be more impressed by the story of Russian aspirations for warm-water ports and Britain's need to preserve her life-lines or by the desperate needs of the Jewish people. Will they be impressed by the fact that in Egypt there is a terribly depressed population, and only a short space away there is a population that has shown the way to what can be done in the twentieth century to give the good life, the abundant life to all and not to a tiny segment or class? I don't know how they are going to be impressed by Palestine itself. If they are men who are paying more than lip service to the idea of One World, they will see that this wonderful ferment which the Jews have brought into the Near East, this democratic vision of a good life is something which the world needs, which should overpower and overcome the small, detailed problems with which they had spent their time.

I don't know what the results will be. We will have to watch. But I do know what the role of American Jewry will be, and that is why I said I thought this subject should be brought to you, to the American Jewish Conference which has a chance to play a great, historic role. American

interests, Jewish interests made a deep impression. Mr. Monsky gave you a report of his testimony. He did not tell you—his modesty would have forbidden him to tell you—the excellent impression he made as your spokesman. It was important to have somebody who was able to speak as well as he did, and with the authority that he had, for the largest part of the organized Jewish community.

The Conference will have to continue to speak. It will have to continue to speak with a strong, articulate voice when UN is here and must consider the Palestine problem. Representatives of France said, as did Dorothy Thompson and maybe others, that there is a danger of having UN in New York, since pressure will be applied here by the Jewish groups. I want to ask you why not? What is wrong in applying pressure when the pressure is applied for something worthwhile? Is it inconsistent with the ideas of the Charter? Is what we want inconsonant with those ideals for which men fought and died? Is not this the principle for which the war was fought and, we hope, won? Then if the cause is right, certainly pressure should be applied not only as Jews but as Americans. We have been asked, we have been forced to take a leading role to make this a peaceful and decent world. The decent and just solution of the Jewish problem is one of the ways of finding out if this is a decent world.

Now I want to close—and really close—with a paragraph that was written by a member of the Palestine Government, a non-Jew, who resigned from the Government because he could not bear what was being done by his own people and government. I will read you only the very last paragraph in which he puts the theme of what I had hoped to tell you this afternoon. He says: "Of course we live in a world of power politics. A Foreign Minister naturally has to look all around him before he jumps. But if Britain and the United States of America today are not together strong enough to act according to principles of justice and humanity, when will they be? To imagine that relations with the Arab world or with Russia can be made more expedient by sacrificing the Jewish nation, the Jewish power of reclaiming waste-land, is fantastic self-deception. The world is waiting for someone to act by reference to standards of justice. America and Britain should dare to do it on the

issue of Palestine; and their daring may turn out to be ultimately expedient as well as just."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is our task. [Applause.]

. . .

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Whatever the ultimate decision may be, you have already indicated by your very cordial and enthusiastic reception of this address that you agree with my appraisal in introducing Mrs. Epstein [Applause.]—that not only did we have a good case before the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee on Palestine, but we had the most magnificent kind of advocates before them—at least one or two of them.

Is the Chairman of the Committee on Organization ready to report?

Debate on Future Organization

[MORTIMER MAY, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, read four resolutions which had been adopted by his Committee. MR. MAY pointed out that the first and third resolutions were identical with those under which the Conference was already operating. The second resolution, unlike the corresponding one adopted at the previous session, which provided for three co-chairmen, left the number of chairmen to the discretion of the Interim Committee. The first three resolutions were unanimously approved by the Session. The fourth resolution was debated at length. The four resolutions, as submitted by the Committee, follow:]

1—There shall be established an Interim Committee to continue the work of the Conference until its next session, to be selected on the same proportional basis as now prevails among the groupings in the Conference on the "key of ten" or major fraction thereof, with a number of members at large, not in excess of fifteen, to be chosen by the Interim Committee for addition to its membership. In connection with the designation of such members at large, consideration should be given to communities outside of the City of New York.

2—The Interim Committee shall elect such officers, set up such committees and appoint such agents as it may deem necessary for the transaction of its functions.

3—The Interim Committee shall implement the resolutions and decisions adopted by the American Jewish Conference and in so doing shall cooperate with other organizations and agencies, so far as such cooperation may be deemed desirable.

4—The delegates assembled at the Third Session of the American Jewish Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, having received with appreciation the report on the work done to implement the program and purposes of the Conference, and recognizing that the problems with which the Conference was created to deal, continue to confront the Jewish people with all their urgency and gravity, direct the new Interim Committee which will be elected at this Session to continue and intensify the work of the Conference within the purposes defined in the Pittsburgh proposals.

The Interim Committee shall call a Fourth Session of the Conference at such time and place as it deems advisable, but not later than 15 months from the date of this Session.

Where a vacancy exists or where the authority of a delegate is questioned by his community, the Interim Committee shall determine procedure to fill the vacancy so as to insure authorized representation of the community.

It is recognized that there is a widespread demand for an American Jewish organization competent to speak authoritatively for the Jewish community and since this Conference was not designed as a permanent body, the Interim Committee is directed to explore the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative Jewish body, in consultation with representative community organizations and through agreement as to the nature and scope of such an organization with existing national organizations, and subject to such agreement, to propose ways and means for bringing such a body into existence.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chairman, of course, always has the privilege to close and also make opening statements on behalf of the Committee.

MR. MAY—Dear friends: Our Committee, as you may know, worked for a number of hours this morning. The resolutions, however, are not only the product of the Committee sitting during the morning's session, but have been the subject of long and serious consideration by many of the delegates and many of the leaders in the Conference.

Human institutions don't come forth all of a sudden in all their pristine perfection. If my recollection of my little Greek is at all adequate, I recall that there was once a Minerva who sprang full-blown from the head of Zeus. Our institutions that we create in this mundane sphere are brought forth with the labor pains with which we are familiar, and their early years of difficulty are toilsome and full of peril.

I am often reminded of an episode in the early life of the American people when the slavery issue was paramount. There was then a party of radicals and extremists who insisted that slavery must be eradicated from our political and economic system at any cost whatsoever, regardless of what other effects might be produced. They achieved for themselves the popular epithet of "barn burners"—in those days barns were more important than at present—the thought being that they would burn down the

barn in order to get the rice. But they would destroy the whole structure of our national government in order to correct one or more evils therein.

I bring that up because our work this morning and this whole report is an amalgam of many views. It contains many compromises. It may not satisfy anyone in its totality or entity. But the same was true of the American Constitution. It did not satisfy everyone when first promulgated, but has lived to become the greatest document ever struck off by the mind of man at a given time.

So I project and submit these resolutions to you for your sympathetic consideration, feeling that if we will make haste slowly, if we will have a little patience, a little forbearance, and the little courage that it takes to have this patience and forbearance, we may yet create out of this American Jewish Conference the vital, virile, all-representative, democratic institution which we all hope for. Thank you. [Applause.]

I might state, in closing, the Committee adopted this resolution by a vote of 45 to 8.

ARNOLD GINSBURG offered an amendment to Resolution Four, providing that, subject to majority ratification, the Conference become a permanent organization and include within its sphere the interests of the Jews in America. The relevancy of this amendment was questioned by JUDGE HARRY FISHER on the ground that the Conference "is bound by definite agreement to conduct the work within the limits adhered to." His point of order was sustained by CHAIRMAN MONSKY who saw "essential differences" between the resolution and the amendment.]

MR. GINSBURG—I move to amend the last resolution, Resolution Four, only in one respect, although I concede a very significant respect. I have no fault to find with the first three paragraphs provided this amendment is passed. I keep the first sentence of the last paragraph, so that the last paragraph with my amendment now reads as follows:

"It is recognized that there is a widespread demand for an American Jewish organization competent to speak authoritatively for the Jewish community. Accordingly, subject to the ratification hereinafter specified, we hereby resolve and recommend that the American Jewish Conference shall become a permanent organization and shall be established as the rep-

representative and democratic central Jewish organization, having the authority to speak for American Jewry and to supervise and coordinate all activities of American Jewry relating to the rights, status, and other common problems and interests of Jews in America and elsewhere.

"This resolution shall become effective, and the Interim Committee shall devise and report to the Fourth Session, ways and means for effectuating the basic policy expressed herein, provided that such basic policy shall first be ratified by a majority of the national organizations and a majority of the Jewish communities now participating in the Conference, through a referendum to be conducted by the Interim Committee prior to June 15, 1946."

That is the end of the amendment. I should like to speak upon my motion if I may.

JUDGE FISHER—I rise for a point of order.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—State it.

JUDGE FISHER—My point of order is that the subject of this amendment is not within the competence of this Conference to consider, since it is bound by definite agreement to conduct the work within the limits adhered to. And that matter has been so construed by an overwhelming vote of this Conference at its last Session.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chair is not called upon to rule on the point of order until there is a second to the amendment. Is there a second to the amendment?

[The amendment was duly seconded.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Now that the amendment has been seconded—

MR. GINSBURG—May I speak upon it first?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I am sorry. The Chair is now called upon to rule on the point of order. And very painfully, the Chair must agree that the point of order is well taken.

MR. GINSBURG—Point of information, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I will be glad to have it.

MR. GINSBURG—The point of information is as follows: The resolution of the Organization Committee as reported here and, I assume, as endorsed by the Chairman and the leaders of the various major organizations, provides that this body direct the Interim Committee to explore the

possibilities of establishing a permanent organization such as I call for in my amendment, and for expanding the scope of the Conference according to agreement.

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, and this is my point of information—I ask you, if my amendment is irrelevant, and I take it that was your ruling, is not the report of the Organization Committee, the proposed resolution of the Organization Committee irrelevant for the same reason? [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—In the opinion of the Chair—if the Chair is able to resist the influence of the scattered applause—in the opinion of the Chair there are essential differences between your proposed resolution which undertakes to have this Conference transform itself here and now into a permanent—

MR. GINSBURG—Subject to ratification.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I am sorry, sir. The “subject to ratification” does not help. . . . To transform itself into a permanent body—which point at the last Session and at the First Session, not once, but several times in respect to a number of similar resolutions, was ruled out of order and irrelevant by the General Committee.

The difference is that the resolution presented by the Committee on Organization merely directs the Interim Committee to explore the possibility—explore the possibility—and through agreement in advance with the national organizations, to propose ways and means. And in the Chair’s opinion, Mr. Ginsburg, there is a substantial difference between those two. I rule this one relevant and yours irrelevant. [Applause.]

[MR. GINSBURG appealed from the Chair’s ruling, which, however, was sustained.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I recognize the gentleman standing at the microphone, Mr. Samuel Aronowitz of Albany, who rises on a question of information.

MR. ARONOWITZ—My question is whether it is distinctly understood that in the event this resolution is adopted, it means merely that this Conference has not passed one way or the other on the question of the desirability of a permanent organization; but that this resolution merely calls for the exploration of the problem and the possible future organiza-

tion of a permanent body under an agreement that may be acceptable to the Jews of America. I would like to have the Chairman state officially whether that is the correct interpretation.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chairman is under no obligation to place interpretations upon language that is so explicit that there can be no ambiguity about it.

MR. ARONOWITZ—There have been other cases, Mr. Chairman, where there apparently was no ambiguity, and where those in authority have been able to twist the language in such a way that it was far beyond what the delegates ever expected to have happen.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I read the resolution, sir?

MR. ARONOWITZ—I would respectfully ask for an answer to my question.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Your question asks for information concerning the meaning of the following language. Will you listen carefully to it? "It is recognized that there is a widespread demand for an American Jewish organization competent to speak authoritatively for the Jewish community . . ." That is the language of the resolution to which your question of information is directed. It states what we consider to be a fact—if the Conference agrees with that statement—that there is a widespread demand.

I don't think that the resolution in any way commits the Conference because of the following language: that the Interim Committee is directed, in response to that demand—which demand I believe to be based upon pretty fair and sound reason—is directed to explore the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative Jewish body, etc. It does seem to me that that language is so explicit that it is not open to any two interpretations.

I want to say now in response to your question, I expressed a very sincere hope that the exploration and the negotiations following the exploration with national organizations will actually lead to a democratic body. [Applause.]

[MR. ARONOWITZ moved that the resolution be divided so that the first three paragraphs constitute one resolution and the last paragraph another. RABBI JONAH E. CAPLAN asked whether the Session was within its rights in making a recommendation regarding the American Scene to the Interim Committee without itself taking a positive

stand on the matter. The CHAIR ruled RABBI CAPLAN out of order and suggested that if he wished to offer a resolution he present it to the General Committee.]

MR. ARONOWITZ—Mr. Chairman, I now move that this resolution—as an amendment—that this resolution be separated into two parts; that the first three paragraphs be voted on first and the last paragraph be voted on as a separate resolution.

[The motion was duly seconded.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The motion is that the resolution be separated so that the first three paragraphs shall constitute one resolution and the last paragraph, to which we have been addressing ourselves, shall constitute another.

RABBI JONAH E. CAPLAN—I would like to find out from the Chair whether it is within the province of this assembly to make a recommendation to the Interim Committee on the question of the American Scene, without accepting any positive stand itself insofar as changing the present structure of the American Jewish Conference goes—merely on a vote or recommendation. Is that within the province of this assembly?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chair would like to refrain from indulging in the very bad habit of answering questions or ruling upon points of order with reference to matters that are not before the house.

RABBI CAPLAN—I should like to make a motion.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I do not, sir, want to be giving advisory opinions. If there is any such resolution in the mind of any delegate, that delegate should present that resolution to the General Committee which has been set up for the purpose of determining questions of that sort.

RABBI CAPLAN—Question of amendment, sir, which I believe is in order.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—You are entitled to present an amendment. We are now on the motion to separate. Judge Fisher asked for the floor. He yielded it to you for a question of information. I indicated the procedure. Present your resolution to the General Committee.

JUDGE FISHER—Mr. Chairman, I do not have any speech. I just want to call to the attention of the assembly the fact that whereas, when separately considered, certain portions of the resolution are quite relevant, they may be entirely irrelevant if the resolution is adopted as a whole.

For instance, if no such step is to be taken as is contemplated by paragraph four, then the whole question of whether we should meet again and whether we should have elections would become very material, and we would all want to be heard upon that. I doubt whether we would have ample time to dispose of the whole question. Some of us believe that there ought to be an election of new delegates for the next Session. We yielded on that because of paragraph four. If we separate it, then the whole matter presents entirely different problems. I think it would be a misfortune to treat this resolution except as a single, unified expression of the sentiment of this assembly. [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Are we ready for the question?

[Call for the question.]

ABRAHAM SPICEHANDLER—Mr. Chairman, all I want to do is offer an amendment. It reads: "To direct the Interim Committee to explore the possibility . . ." but it does not tell us—

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I suggest to you that we are now on the motion to separate the two, and after that motion is disposed of, we will be very glad to recognize you for amendment.

JEFFERSON E. PEYSER—Mr. Chairman, may I ask first, before I take much time, as a point of information, whether the last part being a resolution separate and distinct and not germane to the first, it is not the privilege of any delegate to have a division?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—As a matter of parliamentary practice, I think the procedure that is now being followed, namely, making a motion which will give this assembly the opportunity to indicate whether it thinks that they are related and should be tied together or separated, is the proper procedure.

MR. PEYSER—It was my understanding that when a resolution is complex and permits a vote on one matter differently from another matter—and that certainly is the case here—the request of any delegate will permit that to be done.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—No. In the judgment of the Organization Committee, these were related subjects. They reported it as a single resolution. And, therefore, the assembly by its vote is the only body that can separate them under this motion, if it so desires.

MR. PEYSER—I disagree with the Chair, but he has the privilege of his ruling.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—That isn't the first time we disagree, but we very often agree.

[MR. PEYSER raised the question whether the adoption of the last paragraph of Resolution Four would commit the affiliated organizations and the delegates to the establishment of a new body. DR. SILVER quoted from the records of the Conference to indicate the rights of the national organizations within the Conference. MR. PEYSER pointed out that, according to Dr. Silver's statement, the authority of the organizations was limited to ratification of action already taken, and that in this particular case they would have no voice in deciding whether a new body should be created but would be confined to a consideration of the nature and scope of the new body.]

MR. PEYSER—May I ask this question through you, Mr. Chairman, of the Chairman of the Organization Committee? Mr. May, may I ask if it is the correct meaning and interpretation of this last paragraph that its adoption does not commit the Conference or any national organization or any delegate to the creation or the organization of a new body?

MR. MAY—I don't like to hide behind the very well-chosen words of our presiding officer, but I see nothing better that I can do under the circumstances than to use the same reply that he recently made: that the language ought to be clear enough in itself, and that it leaves, or should leave in the minds of no one any real double-entendre.

I know that is not a reply that will satisfy you. Inasmuch as our Chairman took that procedure, I feel that I am justified in following it, not only for that reason, but also, honestly, frankly, and sincerely, I feel that the words used are not difficult and should leave no great problem in the mind of anyone able to read relatively simple English.

MR. PEYSER—May I suggest that if it is so simple, you give me the meaning of them? I suffer from an inability to understand them.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I, Mr. Peyser, ask you to repeat your question?

MR. PEYSER—I wish to ask whether it is the correct meaning and interpretation of this last paragraph that by its adoption, neither the Conference nor any national organization nor any delegate is committed to the creation or formation of a permanent organization.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—It might be simpler if you were to separate your question because of its complexity. May I suggest to you, Mr. Peyser, if your question is, are the national organizations bound by this resolution in advance of the exploration and the negotiation, one simple answer is that we would not be talking about agreement with the national organizations if there were any idea of binding them in advance by this resolution. But there is another and a better answer. I am going to ask Rabbi Silver to make the answer, because that same question was presented during the discussions, and I think he is prepared to make the answer as he made it once before.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER—This question came up time and again. It came up at the very First Session of the American Jewish Conference. My answer will be given to you from printed records of the American Jewish Conference, without the necessity for interpretation or explanation. Prior to the Conference, the first Conference held in New York City, the Executive Committee discussed this matter and took action. I read:

"The Executive Committee further recognized the right of any participating organization to dissent from, and, so dissenting, not to be bound by the conclusions of the Conference.

"At the Eighth Plenary Session of the first Conference—I am quoting from the record—a statement was presented by Dr. Silver concerning the right of all organizations represented at the Conference to ratify any action taken by this Conference."

This statement was made part of the record, and the full statement is printed on page 279 of the record which I am now reading*—a statement made by me on the floor of the Conference on the rights of organizations at the Conference. "There are some organizations represented here through their appointed delegates which have not yet taken official action on some of the issues which have been raised at this Conference or that may be raised. These delegates may have exercised their individual rights as delegates to vote on this issue"—which happened to refer to the Palestine issue, but it applies to all—"or to refrain from voting on it, but it should be made clear that all organizations, if they so desire, have the

* "Proceedings of the First Session."

right to ratify any action taken here. This was the basic agreement underlying the Conference. I make this point clear so that there will be no misunderstanding, and I should like, Mr. Chairman, that this statement be included in the record of the American Jewish Conference."

MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL—That is not the answer to the question.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—It is the answer to part of his question. The answer as now read by Dr. Silver applies to the proceeding that is before the Conference at the present time. That answers the part of your question with respect to national organizations.

MR. PEYSER—No. The reason it doesn't answer it is because, as you will recognize, Dr. Silver's statement, as he read it, says that the national organizations shall have the right of ratification of anything done here. That is entirely different and distinct from an original presentation to the national organizations for consideration.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I interrupt? I don't want to carry on colloquy with you. I know the point you are trying to get at. There is no disposition to have any difference of opinion about this. This resolution itself says "through agreement with the national organizations."

MR. PEYSER—As to nature and scope, but not as to the question of the organization.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—That will be an expression of this Conference—that an exploration shall be had and an attempt made to create such an organization. If that is what your question is—

MR. PEYSER—No, Mr. Chairman, it is very simple. I don't want to be contentious about it. But the thing is simple. It reads: ". . . Since this Conference was not designed as a permanent body, the Interim Committee is directed to explore the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative, Jewish body in consultation with representative community organizations and through agreement as to the nature and scope of such an organization with existing national organizations, and subject to such agreement. . . ." It is completely ambiguous, because in the first sentence you make a commitment by this resolution to the fact that a permanent organization should be had. If the thing—

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I am sorry, but the resolution says—after all, he has a right, even if his interpretation is not entirely correct, to state the erroneous interpretation. But it does say "explore the possibility."

MR. PEYSER—At the First Session I stated a very correct interpretation of page 166 in the records, and I was told then that I was wrong as to my interpretation. I say to you that if we mean what we say, it is very easy with the common language of English to say what we mean; and we should say very definitely that we are not committing ourselves to the formation of a permanent organization or as to the nature and scope; that those matters shall be explored and submitted, as you desire, to the national organizations and communities, or wherever you want to submit them.

The ambiguity and the difficulty of able men to answer a simple question shows that it may lead to considerable confusion, as did the Pittsburgh Call.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Mr. Peyser, you will be given the privilege, if you so desire, to offer an amendment. If the assembly thinks it is necessary, they will adopt it.

MR. PEYSER—I will say this, Mr. Chairman, I believe in view of the importance to Jewry of this particular paragraph and the interest of all delegates in it, and the fact that the first portion is unanimously agreed to, that it might be prudent to separate these things and have an opportunity to prepare an amendment which I cannot do standing on my feet, because it takes a little thought.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—We are on the motion to separate.

JACOB FISHMAN—I move the previous question.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The principal motion is to adopt the report as a whole. Are you ready for the question? I am sorry, I can't contract the floor in advance. There were fifteen on the floor. I saw you and six or seven.

A DELEGATE—I ask for a point of information.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—We are now on the motion for a previous question.

RABBI PINCHAS M. TEITZ—I rise to a point of order. In view of the fact that the Chairman gave the floor to Judge Fisher who urged the assembly not to separate this for the substantial reason he gave, I think it proper to recognize someone who might urge the assembly to vote the other way.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—That is an argument against the previous question. It is not a point of order.

RABBI TEITZ—The last man spoke for separation. Mr. Peyser spoke for

separation. I would ask if you can postpone the resolution until tonight. And in the meantime, a copy of this resolution will be given to every delegate—

[Cries of "No."]

RABBI TEITZ—May I state my case?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—You have a right to make a suggestion. We are on the motion for a previous question. Do you want to offer a motion?

RABBI TEITZ—I asked that before.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—You cannot do it with a previous question before the house.

RABBI TEITZ—Point of order on previous question. An opportunity has not been given for the speaker to state his reason.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Your point of order is not well taken. The assembly can take into consideration the merit of your position if they desire and invite more debate. The previous question is now to be put. I am sorry, Rabbi; you made your suggestion. We have to dispose of the motion. The previous question is not debatable, Rabbi.

RABBI TEITZ—I am not debating the question.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—You may have your opportunity after the previous question is disposed of to make another motion, if you desire.

All those in favor of the previous question—

[Cries of "What is the question?"]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Merely, shall we cut off debate and proceed to separation? All those in favor of the previous question, hold up their hands. All those opposed? The motion is carried.

We are now on the motion to separate the three questions from the fourth motion.

RABBI ARMOND E. COHEN—May I speak on the motion?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—No. We just disposed of that by the previous question. We are now on the motion to separate, without further debate. That is the meaning of the previous question.

[The motion to divide Resolution Four was defeated. MR. SPICEHANDLER introduced an amendment to the resolution, adding the words "and report to the next session." PROFESSOR FINEMAN offered an amendment which would eliminate the need to secure the agree-

ment of existing national organizations before proposing ways and means of creating a permanent body.]

MR. SPICEHANDLER—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I say when one rises to make an amendment, of course it denotes his dissatisfaction with the proposition as it is before us. I recognize also it is impossible at this moment to change entirely or to make a substitute motion. I am not prepared for it. But at least let us amend it to read this way: "Since this Conference was not designed as a permanent body, the Interim Committee is directed to explore and to report to the next session of the Conference the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative, Jewish body." Without this amendment, we will get the report in the time of the Messiah. I therefore propose this amendment and I hope the Chairman of the Committee will accept it. [Applause.]

[The amendment was duly seconded.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The amendment has been seconded. The amendment is that we have the words "and report to the next session." All those in favor of the amendment will please say "Aye"; all those opposed "No." The Chair is in doubt. We will have to have a show of hands.

The Chairman of the Organization Committee presented a resolution. I am not going to give an argument. He reported a resolution which has had the consideration of the Organization Committee representing all parties in the Conference. It seems to me whenever an amendment is offered or any observation is made that the delegates ought to think well as to whether or not they are not voting up or down something the implications of which may destroy the entire purpose of the report of the Committee.

Now, gentlemen, we are on the amendment to insert the words "and report to the next session."

MORRIS MARGULIES—I call for a point of information.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—State your point of information.

MR. MARGULIES—I would like to ask the Chair what procedure is the Interim Committee to follow with respect to the exploration that they are to make? To whom are they to report? Or, better still, how is the American Jewish Community to learn of its findings?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—It seems to me the Interim Committee can be trusted in the first place to set up—you are asking for information?

MR. MARGULIES—Yes.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—. . . To set up the machinery to do an effective job of exploration. The Interim Committee will carry on—I hope aggressively—with the national organizations the negotiations which will bring agreement on the part of the largest possible number of the national organizations. If, in fact, they progress as rapidly as I hope they will, it may be that the next Session of this Conference might be the first Session of the new Conference. [Applause.]

That is the reason why I am a little bit concerned about all of these amendments that take away the psychological enthusiasm there would be for moving along with expedition under this resolution.

MR. MARGULIES—Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I think that this explanation for the record will help a great deal to make up the minds of the delegates. [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Professor Fineman desires the floor.

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—May I explain that this entire matter should not be railroaded, should not be run through without a thorough discussion, for the most vital problems, it seems to me, are involved in this entire affair. You are all apparently agreed that an effort should be made at the next Session of our Conference, if possible, to create a new type of American Jewish Conference—the kind we don't have now; if possible, a type of Jewish Conference that will not be tied down by our present terms of reference. You should not, therefore, create a situation where in advance, by our resolutions, you compel the next Conference to be tied down by new terms of reference. For the Conference should be in a position to decide for itself. It does not want to have the terms of reference it has at the present moment or other terms of reference.

The committee which is to be appointed and is to explore should have no limitations as far as its power of exploration is concerned. That committee should be in a position to report to the Fourth Session not only possibilities for creating, but also ways and means which can create a new type of American Jewish Conference.

The phraseology that contains the concept “and subject to agreement” presupposes that negotiations will be conducted by various organizations;

and the next Session will be tied down by such agreements in advance—precisely the kind of problem that confronts us at the present moment as far as the present Conference is concerned.

For that reason, and in accordance with the amendment, the phraseology “and through agreement as to the nature and scope of such an organization with existing national organizations, and subject to such agreement” should be excluded from the entire resolution.

If we mean business—and apparently we all mean business and we all have good-will, we all have the same intentions, we all want to create a possibility for forming a new type of American Jewish Conference—let us not in advance create terms that make it possible for the next Session of the American Jewish Conference to be tied down by new agreements and new terms of reference that are to be decided by meetings of various organizations in advance. For that reason, this should be eliminated from this vote. [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chair’s attention was distracted; did you offer an amendment or merely make a suggestion?

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—I offer an amendment.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I did not hear it and I assumed that you did.

PROFESSOR FINEMAN—The amendment should read: “The Interim Committee is directed to explore the possibility of establishing the terms and nature of a representative Jewish body, in consultation with representative community organizations, and to propose to the next Session of the Conference ways and means for bringing such a body into existence.”

[The amendment was duly seconded.]

A DELEGATE—I rise to a point of order. We have an amendment before the house to report to the next Session of the Conference. That has not been voted on.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Your point of order is not well taken. There is nothing in parliamentary law that prevents a number of consecutive amendments. They will be voted on or disposed of just in the reverse order.

LEO H. LOWITZ—Point of order. The Chair is in the process of taking a vote on whether or not to accept the amendment to report to the Fourth Session. The Chair stated he was confused as to what the result of that

vote was. Until that vote is concluded, there can be no further carrying on.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Your point of order would be well taken. I would like, of course, to invoke the rule of estoppel in laches and say that it comes much too late, because to sustain your point of order at this stage in the proceeding would mean to expunge from the record the second amendment that has been offered and all the discussion. Therefore, even though technically I believe your point of order would have been well taken if made timely, the Chair is constrained to overrule your point of order.

JUDGE FISHER—My point of order is directed to Professor Fineman's amendment, which I understand has been seconded. It is the same point of order that I made previously and which the Chair sustained—namely, that anything which contemplates action by this Conference without agreement is in violation of the terms of reference of this Conference. If you eliminate agreement, then you are coming back to a point where this Conference seeks to argue in a field beyond the scope of its power. [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—There is a rule at this Conference—Mr. Lipsky, you will please correct me if I am mistaken—that on points of order in parliamentary procedure, whenever the Chair is in doubt, he has the right to consult—and the members of the Praesidium are the court of last resort. While I have a very definite opinion upon your point of order, the Chair would like to confer with his consultants about it, and I shall rule upon it after consultation.

We will have a 5-minute recess.

[A brief recess was taken.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Will the Conference come to order, please? I regret exceedingly that it was necessary to call the recess. There seemed to be such tension in this room—which I hope we probably will cause subsidence of before very long—and feelings seemed to be running so high, the Chairman felt it was a proper situation in which to make use for the first time of a rule which we adopted at the First Session of the American Jewish Conference, which vested in the Praesidium as a whole the jurisdiction and authority to make the decision in any doubtful matter. Since this involved both parliamentary procedure and also some

questions of certain political implications, I decided that this was one case that called for that ruling. Judge Fisher, the majority of the Praesidium have indicated their agreement with the Chair's position that your point of order is well taken. [Applause.]

MR. GINSBURG—Point of information. My point of information is this: The ruling of the Praesidium now is, I believe, that agreement is necessary among the national organizations. Is that correct?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I gave you the ruling of the Praesidium. The record shows what was involved in that ruling. I think it is rather unparliamentary to be asking the Chair constantly to interpret what each delegate has a right to interpret for himself.

MR. GINSBURG—That is one part of the question. The second part—an integral part of the question—is: Does that mean unanimous agreement or agreement of majority?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I think I said specifically a majority. I was very careful to state it. It is much larger than a majority, but I said majority because I did not want to influence the thinking of the assembly by the size of the vote. It is not unanimous.

MR. GINSBURG—I don't think you answered my question. The question was this: In order to expand the scope of the Conference, is it necessary that a majority of the organizations agree or must there be unanimous agreement?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I am sorry. My interpretation of this resolution—and I am giving this without too much previous consideration—is that when you say that they shall explore the possibilities and through agreement with the national organizations propose ways and means for the establishment of such a body, that it does not mean that there has to be unanimous agreement with the organizations; that what it does mean is that if, as a result of their exploration and their negotiation, enough of the organizations, both in number and in importance, have agreed to a constitution which indicates the possibility of a very real Conference of the kind that we have, the fact that one, two or three, or a number of agencies may not be willing to agree would not prevent the Interim Committee from proposing the ways and means. [Applause.]

MR. GINSBURG—I should like to amend that to incorporate that into the—

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I gave you the answer to your question, sir, and it is now a matter of record. I would like to recognize Ezra Shapiro.

MR. SHAPIRO—Fellow delegates: I think I could say that no one here has any greater impatience than I myself have with the slow process that is implicit in the creation of such a permanent Conference, which seems to be the desire of the overwhelming majority of the delegates to this assembly and, generally, of the American Jewish Community.

This debate that has taken place here this afternoon I think is a good thing, because it will give an indication to all who are assembled here at this Session as to what is in the hearts and minds of the people who are concerned with this business. That indication can be gleaned from the discussion today and from what I think was rather spontaneous applause reaction, if we could record it on the applause meters, on a number of occasions when this subject was mentioned collaterally and directly during the deliberations of the assembly.

But I think it should be said here that any motions which might be appended to the resolution, the major resolution as it has been presented to this assembly, might have in them the seeds of undoing that which I think all of us want to see come out of this Session. I think it can be fairly stated that at this point of the Third Session of the Conference all of us feel that we have strengthened the existing Conference as far as it has gone. And that in itself is a very worthy purpose and an end that should not be destroyed. More than that, it can be said that we are on the way, however slow that way and path may be, to the creation of that which we apparently all desire. [Applause.] But, in fairness, this cannot be done too quickly. There are stresses and strains. We have spent some seventy-two hours now in negotiation, in discussion. It has not been too easy for some organizations and some leaders to accede to some of the implications of this resolution. I think it would be unfortunate if, by the process of amendment, we would piddle away to any degree this apparent universal agreement that has been achieved among the major organizations present at this Conference.

I want, therefore, to urge all of you, all of us who share the feeling that there is this universal desire for the creation of a permanent American Jewish Conference which will be in a position to consider all problems without any terms of reference and which will include Jewish affairs

and Jewish problems the world over—I think it is important that those of us who want that sort of a Conference do not, in the attempt to hasten that result, create a situation of confusion and irritation to a degree unnecessary at this moment. In my judgment, we have gone—and I want to take people's words and statements in good faith—we have gone a long way from the First Session and, certainly, from the Second Session. Let us be satisfied with that progress, and in that spirit and with a warm spirit of respect and regard for each other's views approve the resolution as now agreed upon by the major agencies. Let us take each other in faith and move ahead toward the day when we will have the unified American Jewish Conference. [Applause.]

ALEX F. STANTON—Personally, I guess we ought to be rather formal, but we shouldn't after meeting with each other three times; we somehow are in the position of knowing each other. We have gone through stress and vicissitudes in life. So I think the time has come for plain talking. We in America and right here in the Conference are concerned about what is happening to us here and the rest of the world. I could discuss at great length the formation of our bloc and the plans that we had to bring the American Scene before your eyes and into the discussion. I could never understand why the name "American Scene" was anathema and why it could not be discussed. I am not trying to be a demagogue. I am talking facts. I want to bring this to a head as far as we think this can be done. We want all of you to go back to your communities with a knowledge that the American Jewish Conference is stronger, is going to be permanent, and will have on its agenda and for discussion and within its scope not only affairs abroad, but affairs here which concern us all so deeply. I don't intend to repeat myself. You have had a great deal of talk. I have repeated myself twice, once before the General Committee and once before the Organization Committee. Do not think that I am just talking for the American Scene without any worries about affairs abroad. Personally, I am a Zionist, a life member. Secondly, I happen to be the Grand Master of the Order Brith Sholom that finished purchasing a thousand liters of land in Palestine. Mr. Mendel Fisher can vouch for that.

Lastly, and not so unimportant, as Dr. Goldstein can testify, three

years ago I tried to bring my Order en masse into the Zionist Organization, in order to help the Zionist cause. You can see that when I talk about problems over here, it isn't a question of trying to force only things that we are interested in. Affairs all over the world interest us. We somehow must exert pressure—I will say the word “pressure” advisedly; people don't like the term “pressure.” Not many of us yield on fundamental points except under pressure. It can be pressure of persuasion or it can be pressure of force. Either way it is pressure.

We cannot leave here today without a definite, sure knowledge in our hearts and souls that the next Session will see the commencement of the permanent American Jewish Assembly. [Applause.]

Now I want to give you my amendment, or the amendment of the people. Incidentally, I called a little rump session—I suppose the term “rump session” is not nice, but it is a fact. We had about 160 delegates present at one time or another. I have a list of over twenty speakers stretching all the way from San Francisco to the East—really amazing—from every bloc, with the exception of Hadassah. The lady was present and refused to commit her name. Every bloc—and only two out of the twenty-two speakers opposed the inclusion of the American Scene permanently.

A DELEGATE—Mr. Chairman, that is not a fact.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chairman was prompted to suggest when Mr. Stanton pulled out the list that it probably was not the most accurate and fair kind of argumentation. Therefore, he does not insist upon reading the names.

MR. STANTON—I was not going to read the names. I would not put anybody on the spot. [Laughter.]

I want to give my amendment in order to insure that we can leave for home unruffled in our opinions, unworried that our thoughts and desires will be taken care of. Inasmuch as we recommend a great deal, and when the Conference was first started in Pittsburgh the question of future organization was not taken up, I ask the following words be added: that in the event, ladies and gentlemen, there is no agreement, elections be held before the Fourth Session. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—You have heard the amendment. It was not stated

in the form of a motion, but the Chair will indicate it was in the form of a motion. Is there a second?

[The motion was duly seconded.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—It has been moved and seconded that in the event there is not agreement before the Fourth Session elections shall be held.

BEN ZION GLASS—Point of order. The subject matter of this amendment is subject to the same objection as were the previous amendments which seek to present or place action in the hands of the Interim Committee.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Your point of order is well taken. *

MR. GINSBURG—I appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I shall be glad to argue it with you. An appeal has been taken from the ruling of the Chair. Does the assembly desire debate on the appeal?

[Cries of "No."]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—All in favor of sustaining the Chair say "Aye"; all those opposed "No." The Chair seems to be sustained.

[DR. JAMES G. HELLER expressed the opinion that the "selfish prerogatives" of national organizations have hindered the Conference and suggested that when its work shall have been completed the Conference cease to exist and a new body with its "mandate" direct from the communities be created. RABBI EISENDRATH opposed this argument, urging that at least an attempt should be made to establish the proposed future body on the basis of national organizations, using the experience which delegates and organization representatives have had in working together for almost three years. PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK argued for the resolution, asking that the Third Session authorize the Conference and the Interim Committee to work out the terms of the resolution. DR. SILVER in urging passage of the resolution expressed the conviction that the national organizations were ready and willing to have a permanent American Jewish Conference and to yield in their demand that the scope of the future organization "be defined in advance."]

DR. HELLER—Mr. Chairman, I hope I am not voicing a futile wish. I would like to ask the assembly, despite the rather wild excitement that seems to have characterized the meeting so far, to calm down and to listen to what I regard as a non-partisan attempt to come to grips with a difficult question. I have never seen this resolution before. I asked Mr.

May for a copy of it just a few moments ago. I realize that the resolution is the result, in all likelihood, of negotiations that preceded this Session. The language was calculated to reflect the result of those negotiations.

However, I would like the Conference to consider the wording and the purport of this resolution very carefully for a few moments. It is quite obvious that whether the resolution is divided or not, the meat of it is in the last paragraph. The first three paragraphs merely ask the Interim Committee to continue the work of the Conference.

The last paragraph is an attempt to provide machinery by which a transition may be effected between this American Jewish Conference and another American Jewish Conference to be created. I would like to discuss that, Mr. Chairman, from a point of view which I have not heard as yet from the floor. I am interested, for myself, and I think that is true not only of me but of a great many Jews throughout the United States—I am interested not in the language of the resolution, but in the objective which it strives to approach. I believe it is perfectly true that there is a great need in Jewish life for some body which shall represent the Jews of America, which shall rise above partisan lines, which shall comprise the overwhelming majority of our fellow Jews in the United States, and which shall be capable of action.

But I would also like to submit that this particular resolution in no way makes such a thing possible, and that it is an utterly futile gesture. At the last Session of the American Jewish Conference I had the privilege of presenting a resolution almost exactly similar to this, as the record will disclose, which asked the Interim Committee to study and to submit plans for the organization of such a Conference, for the change of the plan of this Conference in relation to it. I have to plead guilty myself to not having been able to participate, because of the pressure of many other duties, in the deliberations of the Interim Committee. We have now had, I think, about fifteen months since the last meeting was held. The Interim Committee, as far as the minutes reveal, has not devoted itself in any way, shape or form to carrying out that motion that was passed. And it comes to this Session of the Conference without having done anything concrete whatsoever. All we are doing here is passing a motion precisely analogous to the one that was passed at the last Session.

I would like to submit, Mr. Chairman, that that is not the way to go

about arriving at the end which I think most of us agree upon. I would like to try to trace the difficulties, and would ask the delegates to consider these very carefully. First of all, every time the question is raised, you go into a barrage of parliamentary problems; and they are not difficult to understand, because an organization which came into existence as did this, with certain agreed limitations, cannot itself transcend these limitations. In my opinion, strictly interpreted, that objection is just as valid for this resolution as for any that have been presented. If one is to be technical, not only has this Conference no right to become a permanent organization or to include certain areas in Jewish life which were excluded by agreement in advance, but it has no right to delegate that function to the Interim Committee either.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Under those circumstances, it seems like a very real concession is being made when we allow the Conference to do that.

DR. HELLER—I understand that. I am simply trying to point out in one minute the difficulties that remain. The first question therefore concerns the power of this Conference, either itself or through the Interim Committee, which is, naturally, only a body having delegated power to act for this Conference, and which, therefore, by that fact, can have no power which does not inhere in the Conference itself to do something which the Conference itself is not entitled to do.

In the second place, Mr. Chairman, I want to submit—and I fully realize there are many here who will not agree with this point—I want to submit that it is unwise to try to make such a transition, whether it is agreed upon or not. This body came into existence with high hopes. I was one of those who sat by its cradle in Pittsburgh at the time when we first met. I believe that some of those purposes have not been disappointing. But in the main I should like to say, for one, it seems to me the American Jewish Conference, since its First Session, has been in the midst of a long diminuendo of a long decrescendo and it has lost status and standing in the American Jewish Community.

I want to ask why, Mr. Chairman. The answer is a very simple one for those who, like myself, attended most of the opening sessions of the Conference and the Interim Committee. For one reason alone. National organizations are not willing to delegate to representative bodies. [Applause.] This Conference has faltered upon the selfish prerogatives of

national organizations. [Applause.] And from that indictment, Mr. Chairman, I except no one; it applies just as much to those groups in which I am interested personally as it does to those with which I do not agree.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I should lay it down on the basis of the experience that we have gained during these more than three years, that you cannot organize a democratically constituted body which will be capable of genuine action by agreement with the national organizations. [Applause.] To adopt this resolution is simply to condemn any future American Jewish Conference to the precise type of immobility and neutralization from which this one increasingly is suffering.

Therefore, all that you propose to do here is only to create an American Jewish Conference, if the conditions are met by which this one became emasculated. I submit, Mr. Chairman, there is only one way to form a democratically constituted body to speak for American Jews—to go straight to the Jews of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, to try to short-circuit this whole process in which we have been caught all these years is useless. I do recognize the full value of the organizations that are in the field, the necessity for continuing them. But you cannot have both. You cannot have a conference which speaks for organizations and communities while the organizations persist constantly in speaking for themselves. Therefore I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the entire matter be restudied. It needs restudying from this point of view. First of all, I think the wise procedure would be for this American Jewish Conference, when it shall have completed its purposes as they were described in the Pittsburgh Call and as they were agreed to by communities and organizations, to adjourn sine die. And then those individuals and organizations which believe that there should be created a body in Jewish life to meet the needs upon which I think most of us do agree, should get together, organize in communities in this country, get a mandate direct from them, and do it without hindrance. [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Rabbi Eisendrath wants to be heard.

DR. MAURICE N. EISENDRATH—It is with the greatest reluctance that I feel called upon to disagree quite vigorously with my very dear friend and colleague, Rabbi Heller. In the first place, the logical consequence of his remarks would be a motion to declare this resolution irrelevant. That

has been debated not only at the last Session, but at a number of Interim Committee meetings all through the past year and ever since the delegates began to assemble for this Conference.

Under the strictest, most legal interpretation of the Pittsburgh Call, Dr. Heller is right. This resolution could very easily be declared irrelevant. So could the resolution, adopted at the First Session at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, to include Rescue on the agenda of the American Jewish Conference have been declared irrelevant. By unanimous agreement that was included. In this case likewise, while there is still disagreement with regard to some phases of this resolution, the fourth paragraph particularly, it has been unanimously agreed by the representatives of national organizations that they do not deem this particular resolution as at present phrased, and without any possible amendment—they do not deem this resolution as at present framed to be irrelevant. [Applause.]

In the second place, Dr. Heller has stated that this resolution, the fourth paragraph, is precisely the same as that which he submitted and which was adopted by the last Session of this Conference. That is not the case. I wish to read to you the resolution adopted at the last Session:

“Immediately after adjournment of this Second Session of the Conference, the Interim Committee shall appoint a special committee to study and make its report and recommendations to the Third Session concerning the structure and organization of the Conference.”

That meant this American Jewish Conference. There were those who felt that there were certain aspects, certain phases of this Conference that merited study and possible revision. This resolution was introduced because last year it was true; we had not progressed to the point to which we have now come, where representatives of national organizations were ready to concede that we might at least undertake the exploration of the advisability of establishing some form of permanent organization.

The two resolutions are by no means identical. Now, you will ask, why do some of us consider this resolution at this time relevant, when we did not consider it so last year? That is indicative of the tremendous progress this American Jewish Conference has already made—all in the space of a single year. [Applause.] That is a tremendous advance. If anybody is pessimistic and defeatist about this Conference, he does not recognize the reality of this particular advance that we have made as a

consequence of living together and learning to understand each other's differences; to meet each other as divergent groups in a spirit of compromise such as this resolution represents. I agree with Rabbi Heller to some extent that this American Jewish Conference has been handicapped by the very nature of its structure, in being represented, to so large a degree, by national organizations. I do not rule out of the range of possibility, even probability, that a new organization may have to be set up on an altogether different basis that might eliminate completely national organizations. But I would like, in a spirit of objectivity and over a considerable period of time, to be permitted the opportunity to explore every ramification of this subject. Although I do agree that there has been a measure of handicap because of our make-up through national organizations, I do not think that the national organizations that have been part of the American Jewish Conference have been quite as bad as they have been painted. I have seen instances of self-abnegation on the part of a number of organizations, yielding to the discipline of the American Jewish Conference, when they might very well have gained in prestige for their own organizations; when they permitted other organizations in American Jewry to carry the ball, because they were subjecting themselves to the authority and the discipline and the coordination and the cooperation of the American Jewish Conference. I am not speaking in this particular regard of my own organization. There have been organizations that have very definitely subordinated themselves in a spirit of willing self-abnegation for the good of K'lal Israel through the American Jewish Conference. [Applause.]

Insofar as my own organization is concerned—and I think I have a right to be pardoned this reference—I think that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has also demonstrated that a national organization can take it on the chin because of its regard for K'lal Israel. We, too, have paid a price for our membership in the American Jewish Conference. I, for one, am proud of it. [Applause.]

Now, with regard to the merits of the resolution itself. We have labored long and arduously to reach this agreement. I think it is a tremendous advance. I said Sunday, and I repeat now, that I speak only for myself in supporting this resolution. I have no right, in view of the fact that this particular subject has never been considered by my organization,

to commit it. But I do believe that as this resolution stands now, it can be acceptable to every national organization—sincerely and earnestly to explore the possibilities of establishing such a permanent organization. We may fail. I grant you we may fail. Then you will have to build upon other foundations. You will have to do as Rabbi Heller suggests—go to the people, go to the community councils, devise other ways and means of establishing this thing which so many desire. I concede that may be the ultimate result. But in the meantime we ought to take advantage of what we have already done, of our knowledge of each other as individuals and as representatives of organizations having lived and labored together now for almost three years; to take advantage of these great gains, and to try in this way to build the suggested organization.

Now, you may say that that may take considerable time. It may. And you will point out that the Jewish crisis is so grave that we cannot possibly delay. That would be true if we didn't have an existing American Jewish Conference. But we have an American Jewish Conference which everybody concedes shall function until its specific tasks have been completed. So with this American Jewish Conference in existence now for the present emergency, we can afford the kind of time it took to build the United Nations Organization, for example; to explore the possibilities through what we have already gained. If we fail, other means will have to be tried. I believe we can succeed if this resolution stands precisely as it has been written.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Mr. Klutznick has the floor.

MR. KLUTZNICK—Mr. Chairman, I rise with considerable reluctance as one who is attending his first Conference, to speak on such an important subject, but perhaps just because I attend this Conference for the first time, and have been on the periphery of what has taken place rather than in the vortex, I can speak with a bit more objectivity.

And since it is also true that at no time have I participated in the negotiations that led up to what is obviously a compromise of the thought at the top, and since I come in at the bottom, I cannot be accused of trying to save somebody's chestnuts from the fire.

With that introduction, let me say this to you: I am amazed that we speak here today about adjourning this Conference and creating a hiatus at a time when we dare not create a hiatus. I say that I am amazed that

when we speak about going to the communities—our American Jewish communities—and organizing a democratic conference to speak authoritatively for the people of our American Jewish Community, we speak as if those people have been living in a vacuum all of this time. The honest fact is that those people have their loyalties. They have their affections, they have grown up in organized Jewish communities, and in organized Jewish life, and to propose now to abandon what has been gained up to now, and to start again to create a Conference from afresh, is to me, is to my way of thinking, an invitation to a debate on the American Jewish Scene at a time when what we need is the kind of harmonious approach that Ezra Shapiro spoke about.

I say further, that I do not like resolutions either. You can interpret them and misinterpret them a thousand and one ways, but when responsible organization heads and leaders, whom all of us have to a greater or lesser degree recognized as our leaders, work painfully to bring forth an instrument which is the basis for the termination of this Conference, and come before you and say they are in agreement and their intention is to work and slave to achieve it, then I think amendments which are of a technical character and which do not change the intent of the resolution, can only create disharmony and disunity.

I think we are, in a sense—to put it tritely—at the crossroads of the American Jewish Community's contribution to world Jewish life. I don't think the program of the American Jewish Conference itself has brought us to this point. I think quite clearly that events have changed since Pittsburgh, or we might well have been at that point at Pittsburgh. What we considered at that time to be a passing emergency, we must now recognize as a tragedy through which we will perhaps pass not in six months or a year—I hope this will not happen—but in five or ten years.

We are caught in the midst of a tremendous world struggle, and the American Jewish Community needs authoritative spokesmen. Now, how to get that? Get it by dissolving what you have gained? I think not. Get it by building on what you have achieved up to now. Get it by recognizing that we won't have one hundred per cent success under this resolution either. Get it by recognizing all of the obstacles and stones that are in the way of the achievement of this objective. You cannot legislate unity. You cannot legislate harmony. You can only achieve it by working and

slaving together, and any act that would tend to destroy the opportunity of working and slaving together is to my way of thinking a step in the wrong direction.

As a neophyte who thinks not at all in technical terms, I would urge this Conference, even as Mr. Shapiro urged it, to forget the commas, the exclamation points, the phrases, and to give this Conference and its Interim Committee a mandate—as this does—to try to get together and achieve the maximum. [Applause.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Rabbi Silver has the floor.

DR. SILVER—I asked for the privilege of speaking before the last speaker made his very eloquent and very significant contribution to this very interesting discussion which has been going on this afternoon. I really have fairly little to add to what he said, to what Dr. Eisendrath has said, and to what Ezra Shapiro has said.

I should myself also like to add amendments to this resolution which was finally drafted after long deliberations, consultations, and a mutual give-and-take. I wish it were possible immediately to order the establishment of an American Jewish organization which would represent all the Jews of America and which would thrust aside the existing national organizations as irrelevant to the American Scene.

I rather think that at best this is a Counsel of Perfection. I have been deeply gratified that important national organizations, which represent great organized bodies of American Jews and which served American Israel well and faithfully over a long period of time, have come to the Conference this year with this conviction which was not theirs a year ago or two years ago, and which I believe is a direct result of the experiences of the present American Jewish Conference, namely, that they need and we need on the American Scene an over-all American Jewish organization which will speak for all of us, and that they are prepared in spite of the legal technicalities which can be raised if one wishes to raise them—and I am not a lawyer—they are prepared to make this great concession of overlooking these legal technicalities and of facing the desire so widely expressed by the Jews of America, namely, to bring into existence as soon as possible a permanent American Jewish Conference.

Now that, I believe, good friends, is a tremendous step forward.

As I met with the representatives of these national bodies, I became

convinced of their sincerity. It is not that they are being forced into this thing by outside pressures. Some of them may be, but most of those to whom I have spoken believe in this thing as wholeheartedly as I believe in it, but having to work with great organizations which move slowly they want the opportunity to approach this thing deliberately, to give them a chance to persuade their organizations; to give them a chance mutually to exchange ideas, so that mutually satisfactory programs can be worked out.

Some of these national organizations which want a permanent American Jewish Conference nevertheless pressed within the last few days that the future scope of the Conference be defined in advance, and on that issue we vigorously fought. We could not compromise on that issue, and we told them that if we are bringing into existence a committee to explore the nature and scope of a future permanent body, we cannot beforehand circumscribe the findings of that committee.

And the leaders of those organizations went back to their caucuses and, despite opposition there, persuaded them to yield on that point so that in the framework of this resolution nothing is kept out of the deliberations or the negotiations of this Interim Committee.

The American Scene is not excluded, and I for one should like, if I am a member of this negotiating committee, to have the opportunity to sit down with these national organizations and persuade them that it is to their advantage, as it is to the advantage of the whole of American Israel, that the American Scene, namely the problems and concerns of the largest Jewish community of the world—five million Jews—deliberately belong to a permanent American Jewish Conference. [Applause.]

They have not denied me or the Interim Committee that privilege. They are prepared to sit down and negotiate, to see whether a satisfactory formula or definition of the American Jewish Scene can be arrived at.

That being the case, my dear friends, I submit to you that this resolution which was presented to you by your Committee, the result of very careful deliberation on the part of a miniature Conference representing all bodies and all groups and all parties in this Conference, ought to be accepted by this Conference as is, without amendments, because every amendment you can conceive of was already conceived of in the smaller meeting, and there were valid reasons why they were not included.

Now the basic thing is: Do we want a permanent American Jewish Conference? I believe American Israel is almost—with some exceptions, and there are some, and I am not questioning the motives of those people even—but I believe that American Jewry is almost overwhelmingly united on the proposition that we need such a Conference and if American Jewry is determined to have it, it will have it, and if the national organizations put unreasonable stumbling blocks in the way, other methods will be found. But until we have given ourselves and them a chance to explore the situation, to think it through, and to arrive at conclusions by agreement, we certainly have not the right to say we can never have an American Jewish Conference with these great national organizations in.

I urge you, ladies and gentlemen, to vote for the resolution as presented by the Committee. [Applause.]

[The question was then called for insistently.]

DR. SARA FEDER—Mr. Chairman, I rise to ask a question emphasized by the conclusion of Rabbi Eisendrath, who spoke of “relevancy” of the inclusion of rescue at a previous session and of the phrase “subject to agreement” in the present resolution. Because of the careful weighing of each word and phrase of the present resolution, especially that of paragraph four, may I ask the Chair whether his statement that the phrase “in agreement” does not require unanimous agreement, has been duly recorded so that it may form the answer to the considerable number of delegates who have been disquieted by this term “subject to such an agreement?”

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Every word that is said, either by the Chairman or by any delegate, whatever disposition may be made of those words afterward, are reported in the record if the reporter can hear them.

[Whereupon the question was once more called for.]

MR. PEYSER—Mr. Chairman, I hesitate to speak after such illustrious gentlemen, the spiritual leaders of our various communities, have addressed this assembly.

I feel, however, that I am compelled to do so because of the very fine and high-sounding phrases that we have heard through three Conferences. I was very much impressed this afternoon by the statement

of Mrs. Epstein, whose address was marvelous and inspiring, when she criticized a British statesman for making the statement that "ethics gives way to expediency."

I have been here since the first Conference, and possibly my concern about wording of resolutions is a result of the experience of three years. Now please do not misunderstand me. I am not arguing the merits of the Conference, its continuation or its permanency, but I do believe it is about time that our Jewish leadership, and we are among them, speak plainly to our people. I think the time for double-talk and ambiguous statements is gone. I think American Jews have sufficient intelligence and are sufficiently informed that matters should be presented to them for debate and determination, and not given to them simply with chocolate coating until suddenly they have found that they have swallowed the pill.

What I mean to say by that is this: If we want to do something, and I am not saying we should not, let's present the issue and meet the issue. I asked a very simple question here this afternoon, and it could have been answered, I am sure—I know I could have answered the question—with a "Yes" or "No," but there was considerable difficulty in getting an answer to a simple question. Now, I may be naïve—

CHAIRMAN MONSKY (interrupting)—Mr. Peyser, you will recall when you asked the question you purposely said that you wanted the question answered by the Chairman of the Committee.

MR. PEYSER—I did not address myself to you. I made the statement that the question took quite a while to get some kind of an answer to.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Has it been answered now?

MR. PEYSER—Not to my satisfaction, but I am addressing myself to something else now.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we come here representing communities; we come here representing organizations. When this call was first made, it was stated in particular language that the communities of America and the representatives of organizations came here in the belief that they were coming to a specific type of organization and conference. As a matter of fact, the type of Conference in Pittsburgh was very carefully considered because it was changed from "assembly." It was changed to

"conference" because there could be no agreement at that time on the subject matter.

When we came here the first time, there were those who inquired whether this was to be made a permanent matter, and it was said, "No." Now the matter has been carried over from year to year, of necessity, and if it is the wish of this Conference that within the scope of the call it should be continued for a further period of time, that is a privilege within the scope of the call.

The statements made here by Rabbi Eisendrath and others who have spoken are very definitely to the effect that they assume—and it is a part of the record unless refuted or questioned, and it stands as not refuted, and Rabbi Silver just a moment ago said—that the permanent organization is conceded, and that merely the nature and scope are matters for discussion.

JUDGE FISHER—Emphatically no.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—It will be utterly impossible to have the 350-some-odd delegates in this room all place the same interpretation upon every word in every resolution and in every argument. A man has a right to place his interpretation upon somebody's speech, and he may be in error, but he has a right to be in error if he wants to be.

MR. PEYSER—I may be in error, but I believe time will show that I am correct, and the point is that instead of stating, "to explore the advisability of establishing a permanent body and arriving at agreement as to the nature and the scope," you will notice that the word "advisability" was very carefully omitted from the language.

Now, if this body wants what it says it wants and if the Chairman thinks it is perfectly ethical, I should like to offer an amendment to read as follows:

"Since this Conference was not designed as a permanent body, the Interim Committee is directed to explore," (change the word 'possibility' to 'desirability') ". . . explore the desirability of establishing a permanent democratic, representative Jewish body in consultation with representative community organizations, and through agreement as to the advisability" (that is the added word), ". . . advisability, nature and scope of such an organization with existing

national organizations" (and then add) "and subject to agreement, to propose ways and means for bringing such a body into existence."

I offer that as an amendment, to clarify the Chair's suggestion.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Is there a second?

The Chair does not hear a second. I recognize the previous question which has been moved and seconded.

JOSEPH COHEN—Mr. Chairman, on a point of information, please. In previous remarks you said that it might be possible to come to the Fourth Session in a permanent body should these agreements be reached between the organizations involved, but in the last sentence, in the last line, you say that all we are to do is to propose ways and means for bringing such a body into existence.

I would like to see such a permanent body meet as the Fourth Session. Therefore, after the word "agreed," I would like to add, "to propose and implement ways and means for bringing such a body into existence," if we get these agreements.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Are you offering an amendment?

MR. COHEN—I would like to offer that as an amendment.

[Whereupon the amendment was seconded.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May the Chair please rise to a point of order with respect to the Chair?

I suggested that an amendment could be offered when a motion for the previous question was before us. You cannot make a motion when you rise on a question of information.

SAMUEL E. ARONOWITZ—I have a right to make a motion to lay this on the table.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—We are now on the previous question.

MR. ARONOWITZ—I move this matter be laid upon the table until eight o'clock tonight with the idea that we start promptly.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The Chair hears no second. We are on the previous question.

MR. PEYSER—Mr. Chairman, on a point of order. I made an amendment; it was seconded by Mr. Aronowitz.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The previous question has been called for. Your amendment is on the record. It will be put to a vote.

A DELEGATE—In order to clear the record I want to remind you that a previous amendment was made to the effect that the words "to report" be added. This has not yet been voted upon.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I understand that.

THE DELEGATE—I just want to remind you.

[Whereupon the question was called for insistently.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—All those in favor of the previous question—this is not on the amendment or the motion, it merely means that debate will be cut off—all those in favor of the previous question will please signify by saying "Aye." Those opposed? The motion is carried. We are on the amendments—on the last amendment, offered by Mr. Peyser.

MR. LIPSKY—Mr. Chairman, on procedure. I have a right under the rules to make a motion which I think expresses the desire of the large majority. I would move the laying on the table of all amendments to the resolution of the Committee.

[The motion was seconded by many voices.]

MR. FISHMAN—There can be no debate on that.

JUDGE FISHER—Mr. Chairman, on the point of order—

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—This is not debatable. You rise on a point of order, as I understand you.

JUDGE FISHER—That is right. If Mr. Lipsky's motion carries, it carries along with it the original motion.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—No. The Chair rules that if the motion to lay on the table, specifically applicable to the amendments, is carried (referring to all the amendments), that motion does not lay on the table the original motion which is the report of the Committee.

MR. LOWITZ—If the Chair will refer to Roberts Rules of Order, he will find that you cannot lay an amendment to a motion on the table unless you at the same time lay the motion on the table. I refer you to Roberts Rules of Order which ought to be the rules of procedure for this Conference.

DR. HELLER—That same question came up at the Convention in Detroit. Roberts Rules of Order was consulted and Roberts did not agree with you.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Judge Fisher, do you still insist upon your point of order?

JUDGE FISHER—No, I wanted your record to show your ruling.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The ruling of the Chair was—even though the Chair is in doubt about the correctness of it—that the adoption of the motion to lay on the table all the amendments will not effectuate laying on the table of the principal motion. Now when you vote on the motion to lay on the table it will be with that understanding.

[The motion was carried. The motion to adopt the Organization Committee's resolution was also approved. MR. KENEN announced a meeting of the Post-War Committee and bloc meetings. The Session adjourned at 5:50 p.m.]

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 18TH

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, presiding

The fourth plenary meeting began at 8:45 p.m. with an address by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the presiding Chairman.

Address Dr. Stephen S. Wise

FELLOW members of the American Jewish Conference: Two coincidences have made themselves felt in these days—a minor coincidence, to which I make brief allusion, and a major coincidence. The minor coincidence is that again, for the second time, I preside tonight over the so-called Palestine Session, over the Session at which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver will make both the address immediately after me and, later in the evening after Dr. Grinberg has spoken, will present the report. We can do no more than hope that his historic address of September, 1943, will be matched by his address and report of tonight.

There is, or was, a major coincidence as the meeting of this Third Session of the American Jewish Conference commenced. The Conference began Friday morning, February 15th, with a meeting of the committees in charge, the Interim Committee primarily.

Friday, February 15th, was exactly one day and fifty years after the appearance of Theodor Herzl's "Judenstaat," a commemoration highly inspiring and a commemoration, it must in truth be said, of vain regrets. Had Herzl been heeded and followed throughout the last fifty years, would we today bewail and mourn the loss of 6,200,000 of our brothers and sisters?

In connection with that minor coincidence to which I have already alluded, I think it fair to say that we suffered minor rather than major losses after the almost unanimous acceptance of the Silver report at the First Session of this Conference, but we achieved great gains despite the minor losses. It may not sound quite respectful to allude to rather well-known organizations in terms of "minor losses," but I trust that here I

may be forgiven, as I so often find occasion to ask forbearance, in respect to errors of frank dealing that I am rumored occasionally to commit.

The great gain bound up with the minor losses was the achievement of unity nearly three years ago—unity, not uniformity, not unanimity—inner unity—not outward uniformity, not the uniformity of the identical, which is involuntary regimentation, but voluntary agreement and unity among the greatly differing, and despite all differences.

Yet another great and symbolic and even actual gain was the appearance of united American Jewry at Washington before the Joint Anglo-American Committee, made by the American Jewish Conference in the person of Henry Monsky, one of its Co-Chairmen, speaking for virtually all American Jewry. Others of us spoke for limited and confessedly partisan groups: Emanuel Neumann, Robert Szold, Rabbi Irving Miller, Hayim Greenberg, Judith Epstein, the speaker and many more, but each one of us speaking for a single group, however numerous—all frankly partisan Zionist organizations.

I like Professor Schechter's term "Catholic Israel," with a handful of dissenters to remind us that Dr. Güdemann of Vienna was right when once he declared, with reference to some apostates: "Was abfällt ist Abfall." He might have added: "He who fails Israel is fallen."

The tragedy today is deeper and more agonizing than was the tragedy of 1943, when first we met. Then ours was still a hope which grew out of, and was bound up with, a certain measure of incertitude. Today, the grim facts are known, grimmer by far than we had dreamed or even feared.

In 1943 and 1944 we stood with unshaken faith in humanity, save, of course, for the Nazis and the Fascists, whether in Europe or in Asia. We dared hope in that hour that, with war's end, the civilized and victorious nations would deal justly with Europe's Jewish survivors; that reparation would be dealt to the Jewish people at last, that reparation would be dealt us in the one way acceptable and inevitable, namely, in the establishment or in the facilitation of the establishment of the Jewish national home as the free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine.

Instead of that, our people are become nothing more than "displaced persons" in Germany, in the various military zones—Germany, of all

hells the most hellish. Once again, alas, we are become objects of an inquiry instead of being masters of our own destiny. If certitude has deepened our woe and intensified our tragedy, again there has been a "refuah" in the midst of our "makkah"; in truth, two "refuoth" in the midst of our overwhelming sorrow, and I name those two "refuoth." One is the character and the stature, moral and spiritual, of the so-called displaced persons, our brother Jews. They do not whine. They do not cry. They do not plead for mercy or for charity. They face a guilt-ridden world and they demand justice.

America, England and Russia do well to accuse the Nazis at Nuremberg of the slaughter of 6,200,000 Jews of Europe, but I wish to add that one and one-quarter million Jews who have survived, today, tonight face the accusers at Nuremberg and they charge them with guilt in failing to save millions who might have been saved and should have been saved. The survivors, as you will hear from Dr. Grinberg, cry out: "Let us save ourselves out of the homelessness of Europe and let us save ourselves into our home, which is Palestine."

And there is yet another and a greater healing and glory. It is the character, the conduct of the Yishuv, our brothers in Palestine. Men and women, forget and banish the term, "illegal Jewish immigrant into Palestine." Illegal alone is any and every attempt to keep Jews out of Palestine. [Applause.]

The more Jews without certificates who enter into Palestine, the surer their charter and the more valid our claim. A people that can be kept out of their own homeland—and do you repeat this to super-nervous fellow Jews—a people that can be kept out of their homeland by the failure to get certificates of admission are not fit to be the possessors and the rulers of their own land.

I need not assure you that the Yishuv will continue to help Jews to enter into and to live in Eretz Israel, and so will we American Jews in every way that is possible to us. [Applause.] The Jewish immigrant into Palestine without certificate is not illegal. Illegal and lawless alone is the denial of the certificate of entry to Jews who wish to dwell in Palestine. We, the members of the Conference, know that these Jews have rights which they mean to maintain and dare to defend.

I ask you, men and women, who are the better, who are the more

self-respecting, who are spiritually the more self-restrained Jews? Jews who go to Washington and send their hirelings, vastly overpaid, throughout our land in order to maintain that we Zionists—those of us who are Zionists—are not and cannot be integrated into American life? Who, I say, are the better, finer Jews—these, or poor, virtually unarmed Palestinian Jews who break into the camp in order to release Jewish detainees, Jews held in a camp because they broke into Palestine without certificates? I have asked a purely rhetorical question. I know the answer as you do. Men and women, I have learned some bitter lessons.

At San Francisco, a few months ago, last April and May, I sat in ante-rooms: the American ante-room, friendly; the English ante-room, correct; the Chinese ante-room, courteous; the French ante-room, not unfriendly; the Czechoslovakian ante-room, cordial; the Soviet ante-room, alas, in every sense inaccessible, alas for the Soviet Union as well as for us. But all our contacts were those either of ante-rooms or lobbies.

I say to you tonight, remember this and forget all else. Of course we want 100,000 certificates of admission into Palestine, and if the mood and spirit of the American members obtain, we will get those 100,000 certificates for which the President finely asked, but permitted his request to be diverted into a meaningless Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. We want 200,000 certificates, 500,000 certificates, 1,000,000 certificates of admission into Palestine. But even more precious than that, more precious even than 1,000,000 certificates, is one certificate of admission to the United Nations Organization for the Jewish people. [Applause.]

"Sufferance is the badge of all our tribe," said Shylock. But Shylock was dealing with money problems and money losses. We of the Conference say to the world: "Sufferance hath too long been the badge of all our tribe." And I say to you tonight, paraphrasing some of the things I said before the members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, in the name of the God of Israel; in the name of the Bible—Old and New; in the name of the patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, rabbis, scribes; in the name of Mount Sinai; in the name of the Jew who became your God—but who was and remained our Jewish brother; in the name of our sacrificial and martyred dead; in the name of the glories of Modin and Warsaw; in the name of the shames of Maidenek and Auschwitz;

in the name of our living brothers, we shall not rest nor give you rest until you grant us, the Jewish people, the survivors of the Jewish nation, the one reparation we really demand: the reparation of justice, justice and honor for our dead, justice to the living and the dying—that justice to take the form of the establishment of Palestine, the Jewish homeland of immemorial centuries, as the free and democratic Commonwealth of Palestine, of Eretz Israel.

CHAIRMAN WISE—Ladies and gentlemen: We will now greet Dr. Zalman Grinberg.

[The entire audience arose amid prolonged applause.]

DR. WISE—You now look upon Dr. Grinberg; later in the evening we shall hear him. He will speak in English, and I hope he will also speak a few closing sentences in Yiddish. We want him to know that we understand Yiddish. [Laughter.]

We are going to have two Dr. Silvers tonight; one isn't enough. First, we will have Dr. Silver's address. I charge him to equal his address of September 1, 1943.

After Dr. Silver has spoken, we will hear the report of Dr. Zalman Grinberg.

I spoke before not about unanimity, but about uniformity. Dr. Silver and I are not always unanimous. [Laughter.] However, the trouble is that he is more unanimous than I am. [Laughter.]

Ladies and gentlemen: It is with very, very great pleasure that I once again perform the high office of presenting to you the Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the President of the Zionist Organization of America, a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, and, in addition, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. [Applause.]

Address Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

MY DEAR friends: While I may be more unanimous than Dr. Wise, it is Dr. Wise who is unique. [Laughter.] He is unique in the greatness of his service to our people, unique in the years of unfailing devotion, unique in eloquence and unique in spiritual greatness. I hope to continue for many years to come to fight with Dr. Wise and to work with him. [Applause.]

When we last met in Pittsburgh a little over a year ago, the World War was not yet over. The evolving pattern of the new world order which was to follow the war was not yet discernible. We felt justified in entertaining high hopes and expectations for mankind, for our people and for Jewish Palestine.

We were aware of the appalling disaster which befell our people during the war but we were not yet in possession of the evidence that two-thirds of European Jewry had been destroyed, and that the great reservoirs of our physical and spiritual strength in East Europe had been forever ruined. Some had hoped that an accurate survey after the war would show that our fears had exaggerated the extent of the calamity, but unfortunately, the facts, when ascertained, exceeded our worst fears.

We believed then, a year ago, that with the end of the war swift and decisive action would be taken by the victorious powers to salvage the remnants of our broken people and to remove the obstacles to rescue and salvation which, they claimed, had been unavoidable because of the exigencies of war. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had assured our leaders that as soon as the war was won, he would move to undo the mischief of the White Paper which he abhorred and to implement the rights of the Jewish people in their national home—for had he not always been a Zionist? The late President Roosevelt had announced in March of 1944 that "the American Government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939," and in October of that year he had pledged his support to bring about "the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." We were encouraged to expect bold and generous acts of Allied statesmanship which would at long last remove all the political mine fields and barbed-wire barricades which

impeded our march to the fulfillment of our national aspirations and to the rescue of the survivors of our greatest national disaster. We were, however, cruelly deceived. There has been neither boldness, nor vision, nor generosity, nor even simple honesty, in the attitudes of the governments concerned.

When the European War ended in May, 1945, Prime Minister Churchill did not move to abrogate the White Paper policy which he had condemned and which was responsible for the death of many of the six million who otherwise might have been saved. Nor did he do anything about it during the succeeding few months that he remained in office. Nor has he raised his voice since as leader of the Opposition. His successor in office, Mr. Attlee, led his Government into one of the most shattering reversals in history. His party had eloquently championed the cause of Zionism for years. Its leaders were among our foremost protagonists inside and outside of Parliament. At the annual conference in December, 1944, the Labor Party adopted resolutions which were reaffirmed by its National Executive Committee in April, 1945, to the effect that the Jews must be permitted to become a majority in Palestine and that the Arabs should be "encouraged to move out as the Jews move in"—a transfer arrangement, by the way, which official Zionism never advocated.

In spite of these resolutions and commitments, Mr. Attlee turned down Truman's humanitarian request in August, 1945, to admit immediately 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine—a request which was based on the conviction that "no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine" and that "the main solution appears to lie in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews who wish it to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed."

In lieu of acceding to President Truman's request, the shabby substitute of an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was offered by the British Government—a patent device for delay and for the circumvention of clear and imperative obligations. It was clear to everyone that this Committee would only ascertain facts which were already ascertained and would hear views already widely heard and would bring in recommendations already predetermined.

Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, in announcing the appointment of this Committee, and in his subsequent press conference, clearly revealed its true intent and purpose. The superfluous investigation of the refugee problem and of Palestine was but a cover-up and an occasion for the liquidation of Zionism. The Jewish problem, he proclaimed, was not a national problem, but one of refugees. Not so Balfour, who voiced the higher statesmanship and the profounder insight of another day. "I could never," said Mr. Balfour in the speech delivered on the tenth anniversary of his great Declaration, "have thrown myself with the enthusiasm which I have always felt for this cause into it, if it had been merely a question of taking out of most unhappy conditions a certain number of the Jewish race and replanting them in the land of their forefathers. If it had been merely that, I should have been, I hope, an enthusiast for the cause. But I think it is going to be much more than that. I hope and believe that the highly-endowed people who have done so much for Western civilization in some of the highest walks of human effort will do even more, if you give them the chance, in the original land of their inspiration, to carry out the work side by side with all the great civilized nations of the world—the chance to work side by side with them for the common advancement of knowledge."

This was Balfour speaking in tones of a higher statesmanship and a deeper insight into our problem.

But for Mr. Bevin there exists only the problem of Jewish refugees. And he offered the complete solution. They should be reintegrated in their original homes. Where this is not possible, immigration opportunities should be sought for them elsewhere in the world. Some may be allowed to immigrate to Palestine. Palestine, however, "does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the problem." This is pontifically announced even before his Committee of Inquiry has had a chance to investigate the possibilities of Palestine. There is to be no Jewish state in Palestine. This, too, anticipated and restricted the findings and recommendations of the Committee. Jewry as a whole, Mr. Bevin avers, is anxious to see a final solution—his final solution. Only the Zionists are in the way.

Mr. Bevin betrayed the annoyance and impatience of the British Foreign Office with the Zionists, to whom, by the way, the Balfour

Declaration was addressed in the first place. Their demand that Great Britain as the Mandatory Government which had voluntarily assumed an international obligation to implement the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine should carry them out, was interfering with the carefully laid imperial plans for a British-dominated Middle East which was to be cemented with the sacrifice, among others, of the Jewish State and with the collaboration of the United States. Mr. Bevin, new to his post and to its problems, was accordingly greatly annoyed. The Jews were crowding too much to the head of the queue, he protested, in demanding that their needs be attended to forthwith.

Lieut. Gen. Sir Frederick E. Morgan, the British-minded and British-serving UNRRA chief in Germany, also betrayed the same imperial annoyance and impatience. The perfect timing of his outburst, coinciding with the opening sessions of the Committee of Inquiry, is a tribute to the efficiency of British propaganda. The Jews were overplaying their suffering and their persecutions. The refugees who were leaving Poland, where of their people few are left but the slain and none abides in hope, thinking to find greater security elsewhere and ultimately in Palestine, were really well-fed, well-clothed gentry, and well-heeled with occupation marks. These rosy-cheeked folk were giving up their comfortable living in Poland because of a secret and well-organized plan to get out of Europe, presumably for some sinister purpose. They were a weak force numerically, but they could become a world force, and in them we have the seeds of World War III. The Jew, Herbert Lehman, has now reinstated this Lieut. Gen. Morgan on the latter's assurance that he is not an anti-Semite. Of course he is not! Neither is Attlee nor Bevin. They are Britishers all, who are pursuing relentlessly a British imperial purpose which calls for the sacrifice of Jewish national rights in Palestine. They will use every means and employ every argument and float every propaganda, however bizarre and fantastic, which will help them achieve their purpose.

Those who oppose it or endanger it—regardless of the justice or merit or humanity of their claims—will be branded as extremists or terrorists or conspirators whether they be in Central Europe, Greece, India, Indonesia, Egypt, or Palestine. Lieut. Gen. Morgan proved himself a faithful servant of British imperial interests, but a faithless servant of a non-

political, non-partisan humanitarian agency to which he is now regrettably returning. Mr. Lehman's action in reinstating him is a mystery only to those who are not familiar with the psychology of Jews in high places.

The British-inspired Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry has now concluded its hearings in Washington, London and almost on the Continent. Those who followed its hearings and observed the reactions of the Committee members are generally of the opinion that the British members will almost all follow the line of the Colonial Office—the Bevin line—and that only a few American members, at best, will sharply deviate from it. A responsible correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* reported to his paper that “arrogance, influence, superiority and downright impoliteness unfortunately have been the stamp of the hearings. . . .” The Chairman of the American group on the Committee referred to the recent Resolution on Palestine passed almost unanimously by the Congress of the United States, and to the Democratic and Republican Party platforms on Palestine, as “all that stuff” which he was resolved to ignore.

Before such a Committee, so motivated, so inspired and so constituted, the Jews of the world were invited to present their case, whose fundamental issue had already been prejudiced. The Jewish representatives are going through the motions of weightily presenting evidence already well-known or available to everyone. The Committee is going through the motions of an objective, impartial and utterly uninstructed board of inquiry, although its façade of objectivity frequently shows lamentable cracks. The British Foreign Office and our own State Department are going through the motions of waiting with earnest anticipation for the findings of this Committee, knowing full well that there will be no surprises in the package when it is delivered. And should there be any unexpected surprises, they are of course in no way bound to follow them. In the meantime a bitter winter is taking its toll of our refugees in the camps of Europe. Myriads of them are degenerating physically and spiritually while the doors of Palestine remain closed to all but 1,500 a month.

Reference was made this evening by Dr. Wise to the statement of Bartley Crum, one of the American representatives on the Anglo-Ameri-

can Committee of Inquiry. This is one sentence of his recently uttered in Vienna: "Displaced Jews housed in the settlement camps in Germany are so desperate that unless they are given the opportunity to emigrate to Palestine, they will commit mass suicide or fight their way to the Holy Land." While this delay and procrastination is taking place, Palestine finds itself under new defense regulations which amount to a regime of terror. Any place can be considered a "legal prison" to accommodate the many arrests which are being made. Men are being deported from the country without trial. The elementary human right under law to be considered innocent until proven guilty no longer exists.

The illegal acts of the Mandatory Government are driving the Jews of Palestine to unfortunate acts of violent resistance. They cannot sit idly by and see their national rights trampled underfoot and their fellow Jews barred from their national home. A weary people came to Palestine to seek rest. From the way of suffering and the streets of death they came, from the cities of horror and the lands of hate. They looked longingly for a haven of peace and tranquillity. When they arrived they went about their work quietly, with eager, uncomplaining hands, building, planting, clearing away the ruins of the centuries and causing things to grow where nothing grew before. Now these peace-hungry people and their children are being driven by the unconscionable acts of a government, faithless to its trust, to deeds of desperation and to unequal and catastrophic strife. This enforced detour into unaccustomed ways for a traditionally law-abiding and peace-seeking folk, and the washing of the hearts of their youth with gall, is but one of the many wrongs perpetrated against our people.

And while tension mounts in Palestine, Jemal el Husseini, the pogrom-maker of 1936, is allowed to return. The refugees in Belsen and Dachau must wait. But Jemal el Husseini could not wait. The British Government was moved to pity to see this notorious fomenter of anti-Jewish riots and this Nazi tool languish in exile. It quickly made possible his return to Palestine. He is now leading in the organization of the Palestine Arabs against the Jews. Presumably the return of the Mufti will be the next stop. This is how the Mandatory Government plans for the peace of Palestine!

With our own government we fared little better. When I appeared

before you at the time of the last Conference in Pittsburgh, in December, 1944, I read to you the pro-Palestine Resolution which had just been adopted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. We anticipated the early passage of the Palestine Resolution in Congress. But the Resolution was scuttled on the insistence of the President. For reasons best known to himself, he did not wish the Congress of the United States to declare itself in favor of the very Jewish commonwealth idea which he himself had publicly endorsed. His subsequent meeting with Ibn Saud, after Yalta, in February, 1945, and his conversation with him about Palestine, is a matter of record. In October, President Roosevelt's correspondence with Ibn Saud, as of April 5th, also became a matter of record—a bewildering and disturbing record to us. In it a new policy was announced which has since been accepted as the official line by our State Department. No decision will be taken with reference to Palestine without consulting the Arabs. It is not even specified which Arabs—the Arabs of Palestine or all the Arabs of the world. And nothing will be done which might prove hostile to the Arab people. It is not even specified who will determine whether a political arrangement proposed for Palestine would prove hostile to them. Be it remembered that there is nothing in the Balfour Declaration or the Palestine Mandate which calls for consulting the Arabs in the matter of implementing Jewish national rights in Palestine.

President Truman, too, I am afraid, in spite of his sincere intentions to be helpful, has unfortunately proved otherwise. He made a most commendable request of Attlee for 100,000 certificates and he thereby quite unintentionally narrowed the political solution for which the Jewish people was pressing to a question of refugee aid. But even on this request he weakened and acceded to the delaying device of a committee of inquiry.

President Truman helped to draft the Palestine plank which was adopted by the Democratic Party in Chicago in 1944: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." He approved the Taft-Wagner Resolution before it was reintroduced last November. But he, too, soon changed his mind and opposed Congressional action. And on December

5th, he announced that while he still favored Jewish immigration into Palestine, he had changed his mind about the Jewish State. The reason behind the change seems to be the settled misconception which the President has come to entertain that a Jewish state means racial state, or a union of Church and State. Bevin and presumably other interested Britishers have been assiduously spreading this canard and, of course, also some Jews here and in Great Britain.

In October, we felt constrained to present to Secretary of State Byrnes a memorandum in which we made, among others, the following observations:

"We must recall that so far as we are aware, the Government took no effective action to protect the interests of the Jewish National Home, at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper in 1939, or to rectify that wrong in the years which followed. The Government did not energetically intervene even when opening the doors of Palestine became an urgent humanitarian necessity because of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe. It appears further that our Government failed to advise its representatives abroad, particularly in the Near East, that it was definitely committed to the policy of the Jewish National Home and to instruct them to be guided accordingly. The State Department has, on various occasions, appointed to positions of importance in the Near East persons known as avowed opponents of this policy, and has had to rely, in turn, upon reports and advices emanating from them. On two occasions the Executive Branch exerted its influence to prevent the adoption by Congress of a resolution reaffirming the traditional American policy on this subject. Above all, our Government has failed to utilize the fluid political conditions created by the war and the process of political reorientation and reorganization under way in the Near East, for the purpose of insuring the status of the Jewish National Home in the context of its Near East policies."

But while we received little support from the Executive Branch of our Government, we were heartened throughout the year by the numerous evidences of understanding and good-will on the part of the members of Congress and on the part of the American people. In November, the Palestine Resolution finally was voted on approvingly and overwhelmingly by both Houses of Congress, in spite of the expressed opposition

of the President, and of the Secretary of State, who appeared in person before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to oppose it. It is a good thing and a strong resolution, though not as good or as strong as the original Taft-Wagner Resolution which might have passed a year ago if Zionist leaders had understood then that in the prosecution of an ideal as difficult as ours, it is sometimes both wise and necessary to go counter to the wishes even of a President or of a State Department, and to challenge and oppose an administration which fails to fulfill its public pledges. [Applause.]

The Palestine Resolution which was finally adopted reflects the true sentiment of the elected representatives of the American people. It was not hastily adopted. It had been before Congress for nearly two years. Extensive public hearings and debates were held on the Resolution. It was not rushed through before an election. There is crystallized in this Resolution the considered and deliberate judgment of democratic America. The Resolution does not partake of the character of law. It is not a binding legislative act. But unmistakably it is a forceful enunciation of the opinion of the greatest legislative body on earth, and it should therefore not be lightly regarded or brushed aside either by the President of the United States, by the State Department, or by the American members on the Committee of Inquiry. The concurrent Resolution reads:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended, and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

The political situation is being complicated for us further by the developing rivalry between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, which has now come to embrace also the Middle East. From stray and as yet inconclusive incidents, it might be inferred that the Soviet Union, like

Great Britain, may also be interested in winning over the Arab world to its side by offering up our legitimate national rights in Palestine as part payment for such an alignment. We hope that it is not so. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Union. We do not and cannot take sides in imperial conflicts. We do not wish to be made the shuttle-cock of power politics. We do not wish to be crushed between the upper and the lower millstones. Our cause is a moral cause. We appeal for sympathy and support to all governments and peoples who can be moved to assist an ancient and not undeserving people to reestablish its national life in its historic home, after centuries of tragic wandering and homelessness. Why should a clear, honest purpose, sanctioned by the nations of the world after the last war, and now in the process of fulfillment, be permitted to become entangled in the tortuous folds of competitive imperial maneuvers? Great Britain does not require for its survival as a great power the cramping and constricting or the total extinction of the Jewish National Home in Palestine which it, first among all and above all others, helped to bring into existence. Its position in the Middle East is not and cannot be endangered by the presence of a Jewish state in that small notch of 10,000 square miles in that vast Arab world. Nor does the Soviet Union, strong and victorious, covering as it does one-sixth of the globe, need such a sacrifice. Why should the Jewish people again be made the scapegoat?

In this connection, I should like to suggest that we should be on guard against those who would like to tie the Zionist movement to one or another of present-day rival ideological groups, Soviet Socialism vs. Social Democracy. There are those who resent every approach made to win over the sympathy of the Soviet Government to our cause. They call it "flirting," and point the finger of derision at Zionists whenever some anti-Zionist statement or act emanates from Soviet or pro-Soviet sources. This is an amazing phenomenon in Jewish life, which can only be attributed to a blind and bitter partisanship which carries over from an area which is not related to Jewish life, to a specifically Jewish issue of gravest moment.

In my address before the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City on November 18th, I stated: "We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that

our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in on the Committee of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the good-will and helpful cooperation of this closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character."

I did not ask that the Zionist movement should align itself with the Soviet Union. We have received no such invitation and we are entertaining no such plans. I called attention to the fact that the basic decisions with reference to Palestine, it is now clear, will undoubtedly be made by the United Nations Organization, which body is made up of other states besides Great Britain, and where the Soviet Union certainly will have its significant say. I urged that we should not fail to cultivate the Soviet Union, as well as all other nations who will have a voice in the decision. For we will need many friends there. I called for a propaganda which would take on a "global character."

We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over Great Britain even though we have been grievously disappointed time and again, and the latest developments are the most disappointing of all. We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over the President of the United States and our State Department even though heretofore we have encountered considerable misunderstanding and resistance there. No one has criticized or derided us for carrying on intensive work with these governments. No one has criticized or derided us for trying to establish contacts with these governments. No one has criticized or derided us for trying to establish contacts with other governments in Europe, South and Central America and other parts of the world. Why, then, should the Zionist movement regard itself as in any way inhibited from trying to win understanding and friendship for our movement from one of the greatest powers on earth?

The Arabs are certainly not averse to carrying on their propaganda both in the direction of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union. My regret is not that we have tried, but that we have not tried hard enough, or

soon enough. At the moment, the attitude of the Soviet Government—insofar as the sparse evidence can indicate an attitude—does not seem to be favorable to us. But there is nothing final about it. Some of us recall that up to a few months ago, even more definite evidence seemed to point to a favorable and friendly attitude. The present attitude may or may not change again in the future. We may not succeed. But we certainly owe it to ourselves to do everything in our power to see that that attitude does change, and in our favor.

The Arab peoples are all to receive their freedom and independence, and none begrudges it to them, though few of them died for freedom and none of them perished in gas chambers. They have all been welcomed into the United Nations Organization. Even Transjordan is to be admitted, though its status as an independent state under the Palestine Mandate is far from clear. But not the Jewish people! Not the Jewish people whose sons fought on all the battlefronts of the world for the cause of freedom and whose war casualties far exceeded those of Great Britain and the United States combined. The Jewish people, though recognized as a nation and guaranteed a national home, must not be included among the United Nations. It must have no voice in the assembly of the nations, and it must remain forever content to feed on the crumbs which fall from the tables of other peoples.

Friends! We are in the midst of a long, historic struggle which, by its very nature, has had and will continue to have its victories and its set-backs. The victories will not be decisive nor will the set-backs be conclusive until the final decision, whose hour no one knows. At the moment our movement, awaiting the results of the Joint Committee of Inquiry, is compelled to mark time. The present political constellation is not very favorable to us. But the stars in their courses move swiftly and there is no permanence to any constellation. Certainly there is no permanence to any short-sighted political policy which, like Munich, appears to be practical and expedient at the moment, but which turns out to be stupid and disastrous, because it ignores the moral imperatives and the larger world perspective.

Truly spoken were the words of the courageous British civil servant, Herbert Howarth, who resigned a few months ago from his post with the Palestine Government in protest against the failure of the British

Labor Government to carry out its promises to the Jewish people and against the anti-Jewish character of the Palestine Administration. He declared: "To imagine that relations with the Arab world or with Russia can be made more expedient by sacrificing the Jewish nation and the Jewish power of reclaiming wasteland is fantastic self-deception. The world is waiting for someone to act by reference to standards of justice. America and Britain should dare to do it on the issue of Palestine; and their daring may turn out to be ultimately expedient as well as just."

Our strength and our hope lie not alone in the fundamental justice of our cause but in the compulsion of an inescapable reality. That holds true of the Jewish refugee problem, concerning which President Truman wrote to Prime Minister Attlee: "I know you are in agreement on the proposition that future peace in Europe depends in large measure upon our finding sound solutions of problems confronting the displaced and formerly persecuted groups of people. No claim is more meritorious than that of the groups who for so many years have known persecution and enslavement." And it holds equally true of the indurate problem of Jewish national homelessness. It feeds anti-Semitism everywhere, and everywhere anti-Semitism is the war-provoking weapon in the hands of reactionary or power-seeking political parties and governments.

Our strength and our hope lie in the good-will and sympathy of the democratic peoples of the world, even where their governments for a time pursue policies in defiance of their true wishes. Scientific polls of American public opinion have shown how widespread is the sympathy for our cause among the American people. This favorable popular opinion must be activized and focused and made to tell upon our government. I am confident that public opinion in Great Britain, where for generations there has existed a deep, religiously-grounded sympathy for Zionism, can also be aroused and made vocal more than it has been. So can the good-will among other peoples whose governments will have a voice in the United Nations Organization where the major decisions on Palestine will finally be made.

Our strength lies in discovering our own strength and in making the strongest possible representation through the strongest possible unification of our forces to our government, to demand the implementation of the Resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States, which in-

dubitably voiced the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the American people. "The time is at hand," declared the report which accompanied the Senate Resolution, "when the long-standing pledges to the Jewish people should be fulfilled." Verily, the time is at hand. And long since overdue!

The Jews of America should be on guard against accepting substitutes or appeasement gifts from the Administration in lieu of this great historic service which it can and should render to our people. To appoint a Jew to this or that important post in government or to make inexpensive good-will gestures in our direction is of little value to us. They are neither commensurate with the tragic magnitude of our problem nor in any way related to its solution.

Our strength lies in the rapidly growing awareness among our own people of the inevitability of the Zionist solution which is, of course, but another name for the millennial Messianic solution of the Jewish problem. Here again the polls have demonstrated how Zionism has won the hearts and minds of the Jews of America. A small opposition group has persisted in carrying on a bitter, at times irresponsible, anti-Zionist propaganda which is so very reminiscent of the unprofitable propaganda of the Germans of the Mosaic persuasion in pre-Hitler Germany. Their propaganda is wrapped up in the American flag and is widely peddled, especially among the "better-class Jews"—God save the mark! But to no avail. The free Jews of America will not accept the truckling and bankrupt philosophies and ways of life of the assimilationist Jews of Western Europe who were utterly rejected and cast out in spite of their attempts, frequently bordering on the pathological, at complete and total "integration." "A day will come," warned Dr. Nordau in Berlin, in 1898, "on which Zionism will be as needed by you, you proud Germans, as by those wretched Ostjuden." And what a day of wrath and blood and terror it was when it came! . . .

Our strength and hope lie in what we have builded in Palestine. There a nation has come to life, conscious of its strength, overflowing with eager, creative energy, sinking its roots deep and spreading its branches wide. Within a generation a backward, eroded, wasted and impoverished land was restored, quickened into life, healed and made prosperous, to the amazement of all and to the envy of some. Those who

builded it for their people are determined to defend it for their people. "They shall not build, and another inhabit. They shall not plant, and another eat." Against the granite of their courage and obduracy, all opposition will hurl itself in vain.

Fifty years ago, Herzl, in his little book which shook our world, wrote these prophetic words:

"The Jews who wish will have their State.

"We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes.

"The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

"And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity."

This was Herzl's vision fifty years ago. Two elements of his immortal vision have come to pass, one tragically enough and one blessedly hopeful enough.

The destruction of Western European Jewry—that was part of the warning which he sought to give to his people. He felt this oncoming, crushing disaster. It was not very clear, not completely defined, but he sensed it with every fibre of his spiritual being. He sought to warn his people.

That vision of his has unfortunately come to pass. But there is also coming to pass this other vision of Dr. Theodor Herzl. Fifty years ago Palestine was a little backward, oriental wasteland, a hinterland, with a few straggling Jewish colonies. Today, however, Palestine is the home of close onto 700,000 Jews who are building colonies, towns, cities, schools, universities, hospitals, and things of culture, things of the spirit and things of the mind—a great community overflowing with boundless energies, a great community which will become increasingly great for hundreds of thousands more who will come and continue to come because no force on earth can keep them from coming. [Applause.]

That other vision of the great, immortal individual who came from strangeness into closest spiritual intimacy with the life and the genius of his people, that vision of Dr. Theodor Herzl, my friends, is by way of fulfillment, and all these commissions of inquiry, and all these legal impediments, and all these political maneuvers are only so many stepping-

stones in the way of a people which is resolute, indomitable and determined at long last, after 2,000 years of homelessness and faithlessness in the world, to achieve both a home and a status of dignity and significance and worth in this world. [Whereupon the audience arose amidst sustained applause.]

. . .

DR. WISE—Ladies and gentlemen: I think you will agree with me that the charge of his senior colleague to Dr. Silver was not in vain. [Applause.]

We are going to have just one moment's pause before I call on the next speaker. There are two men on the platform, each of whom I wish to present to you. I would like to have an opportunity, as you would, to hear them, but we are here tonight to listen to the two addresses of Dr. Silver and Dr. Grinberg, and after Dr. Grinberg has spoken, we will have the presentation of the report of the Palestine Committee by Dr. Silver.

I am just going to introduce to you the two gentlemen on the platform. The two have grown to three. First is the secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Mr. Saul Hayes.

Next, I wish to present, so that you may see the gentlemen, Major Alfred Fleishman and Dean Samuel Sar of the Yeshiva of New York, who were the first team of the American Jewish Conference to go into the occupied zone. We would have asked them to speak tonight, but they have both spoken before plenary sessions of the Executive of the Conference.

I know you want to hear him whom I am about to present to you. We are about to greet the recently re-elected president of the liberated Jews in the American zone, Dr. Zalman Grinberg. I wonder whether you know, dear friends, that he accepted our invitation more than three weeks ago, but it was not until Saturday that he finally was able to fly from Paris. He was held up for twelve hours at Bermuda. He flew over New York last midnight and arrived here at 4:00 o'clock this morning. But that isn't the most interesting or important thing about him.

Dr. Grinberg was a refugee, a Jewish refugee, in that awful concentration camp of Dachau. By a miracle, which I hope he will be good

enough to explain to us tonight—as far as miracles are explainable—single-handed, this man, who is not physically a giant, captured a hospital, St. Ottilien Hospital, and compelled the Nazis in it to care for 500 wounded Jews. First, he telephoned to the hospital; then he went to the hospital. He wrought that miracle and now, dear friends, he is the re-elected head of the liberated Jews who are still displaced persons in the American zone of Germany.

We are very happy and proud to welcome this great fellow Jew of ours. In your name, I greet him on behalf of the American Jewish Conference. I present him with pride and great joy to American Jewry, Dr. Zalman Grinberg.

Address Dr. Zalman Grinberg

MR. CHAIRMAN, delegates to the Third Session of the American Jewish Conference, and honored guests: I come to you from a congress of the liberated Jews in Germany, which took place in Munich, the former Nazi citadel. There the representatives of the last remnants of European Jewry met on January 27th. There, nine months after liberation, the Jews were still seeking a way out of their horrible past and bitter present. There, where they were denied the right to live, were assembled the victims of this unique tragedy. From there, they proclaimed to the entire world their right to live. From there, they accused the people of the world who stood by and passively watched the most bestial conspiracy ever perpetrated.

I had the honor to address this congress. We accuse Europe, this Europe to which we brought the belief in one God, and contributed poets, scientists, statesmen, Nobel prize winners.

We have served Europe in every walk of life from the unskilled laborer to the heads of governments. Never had we permitted persecution, mistreatment or massacre to drive us away. Hard and long winding was our way across Europe through the centuries and every century bore its own bloody landmarks until the time of the Emancipation. The liberal era with its idea of freedom, equality and fraternity allowed the Jews of Europe, to a certain degree, to develop more freely. This development, in turn, served the progress of the continent.

Then we thought: the era of justice has come at last; we shall stay in Europe, we shall continue to serve Europe, we shall not leave. Then suddenly Europe relapsed into the deepest middle ages and that Europe, to whose development we had contributed so much, built for us crematoria and gas chambers, and pronounced a unanimous death sentence upon us. The greatest murder industry of all peoples and all times was created, to destroy us to the last man.

The other four continents of the world witnessed this destruction. Nothing was done to save a helpless people from extermination. Not even a warning or threat was issued. The crematoria continued to smoke and the flow of gas never stopped. We sacrificed on the altar of the

Nazi cult 6,000,000 people up to the day of Europe's liberation. Our dead, however, will never be liberated. Not even their ashes can be found. Only a remnant was saved from gas chambers and crematoria by the arrival of the Allied armies.

These people were too weak to feel joy. They were too humiliated to exult on the graves of their brothers and sisters. Then they could not comprehend their liberation. Now, having regained our strength and starting to understand our liberation, we find that we are not liberated at all. We were saved from death, but we were not liberated.

After nine months we have discovered why four continents of the world could not stop the death march. Just as now the will is lacking to make ours a free and secure life, so then was the will lacking to save us from death.

We know now that our SOS cries from the Warsaw ghetto reached the Allied wave lengths. We know now that Oswiecim and Treblinka were not discoveries of the occupation armies. Yet, there was nobody in the outside world to issue a warning to the Nazis: "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth!" Perhaps the apparent indifference to the systematic destruction of millions of human beings might be excused by the fact that a cruel war was raging on all fronts. But now that cannons and guns have been silent for some time, the murder of an entire people evokes no reaction from the civilized world.

Ladies and gentlemen: I realize that we are living in a cynical world. I am aware of the fact that humanity is accustomed to brutality. I myself would never have believed that the civilized world of the twentieth century could be so unmoved by the decimation of the Jewish people in Europe. I am forced to believe that it is so only because these things happened to the Jewish people and not to another people.

Just think for a moment that if the invasion of Great Britain in 1940 had been successful, the Germans could have occupied the British Isles and built crematoria and gas chambers in Oxford, Cambridge, or Manchester to destroy one third of the English people as meticulously and systematically as they did the Jewish people in Europe. Can you visualize the reaction this would have had upon the civilized world if 15,000,000 Britishers—men, women and children—had found their death through gas? And if then England, together with the Allies, had been able to

continue the war from Canada and bring it to a victorious end, how high would the evaluation of the British victims have been, how endless the indignation the entire world would have felt.

One can argue: millions of Allied soldiers also have found their death in this war. But there is a tremendous difference between death of a soldier on the field of battle and the death of a Jew in the gas chamber. First we died a living death and then we were physically destroyed. *How* the Jewish people of Europe died is the saddest factor to us. Two words haunt us: *How* and *Why*.

Forty years ago in Czarist Russia, there was a pogrom against the Jews in Kishineff. Sixty-eight Jews were murdered, and the entire world was aroused. The stock exchanges of the world reacted against the Czar, workers went on strike in protest. This was the reaction to the death of sixty-eight innocent persons in 1905.

What was the reaction to the death of 6,000,000 innocent people in 1945? Indignation and protest were voiced here and there. But this time history had held out to the civilized world an opportunity to make the protest known through deeds. A few hundred thousand remained who had experienced the hell of the Nazi concentration camps. We have lost loved ones, health, homes and wealth.

We expected positive action condemning the murder of our people. Yet nothing has happened. Nine months after our liberation we are still in camps living in a political vacuum. We have become objects of study. Commissions are to decide what is to happen to us. We are stateless and homeless. That which the crematoria of Europe could not swallow has become stuck in the throat of international politics. This is the balance sheet of European Jewry.

We are neither Poles nor Lithuanians nor Latvians, nor do we belong to any of the other nations which possess land in Europe. We have nothing in common with these peoples. This, those peoples themselves have proved in the past years. We know now that even before the war we lived in those countries in camouflaged concentration camps.

We are Jews, descendants of those who 2,000 years ago were driven out of their country, the country of their father, Eretz Israel, and who now want to return there. And this seems to many leading statesmen of great and mighty empires illogical and questionable, and these circles

seem to believe that it is right for us again to contribute our share to the reconstruction of Europe. We are to build Europe anew, so that Europe after a while can build anew crematoria for us. *No!*

Throughout the centuries the longing for the land of Israel has not died in us. In our prayers, our poems and our songs, this land never ceased to be home to us. Because we did not know how to fulfill this longing, the catastrophe of the past years has overtaken us. When in the concentration camps we dreamed of freedom and called ourselves to account as individuals as well as a people, we thought: just beyond that barbed wire is Eretz Israel. Now that that barbed wire has disappeared, another high wall of barbed wire has been erected for us around Palestine.

The only spot in the world ready and willing to accept us is now barred. Forty years ago courageous pioneers began preparing a home for us. They went as a vanguard in order to lead the rest of European Jewry there. Of this reservoir of millions, only a pitifully small number remains. And now I ask the peoples of the earth: Who has a moral right to keep us from entering? Who will take upon himself the burden of guilt?

I speak in the name of *Shaarith Haplaitah* (the remnant of the survivors) in Europe when I say: We must not, we cannot, and will not stay in Europe. [Applause.]

The diabolical plan of Hitler to exterminate the Jews of Europe has succeeded only too well. The few who have survived have wounded bodies and scarred souls. So widespread was the poison of anti-Semitism that all the Jews of Europe are direct victims of the Nazi regime. The horrible aftermath is the situation of the Jews who have returned to their native lands only to be forced once more to flee oppression. These so-called infiltrates are streaming into the American zone by the thousands for protection.

Who are these infiltrates? They are people who were living in German concentration camps in Eastern Europe; others who fought as partisans in the hills of Eastern Europe; or a small number of old folks who spent a horrible time full of suffering in caves, cellars and ruins and thus escaped Nazi death. All were persecuted and belong in the category of persons who had suffered most from the laws and the terror of the Third Reich.

The fact that they are now streaming in large numbers from Poland into the American occupation zone, is a direct result of the Nazi domination. For there had been before the war 3,500,000 Jews in Poland who were integrated in the economic structure of the country; their existence as nationals of that country was in most cases secure and their physical well-being not in danger. Now after the war, there are 60,000 Jews in Poland who have no way of earning a livelihood there and whose lives are endangered by continued threats on the part of organized Polish groups. Before the war 3,500,000 Jews lived in Poland; now after the war 60,000 cannot live there. What is the reason for this undeniable fact?

The reason is that in conquered and liberated Europe the seeds of anti-Semitism sown by Hitler are bearing fruit as never before. Hitler has many followers in Europe and his teachings have survived him. It appears that for a long time to come they will remain in Europe as an inheritance of the devil. Therein, too, lies the reason why broken and tormented human beings wander through the streets and fields of Europe, braving danger to cross the borderlines into the U. S. occupation zone.

Yet, in occupied Germany we are in no position to give these tired, exhausted and hunted people a refuge worthy of human beings. We have requested it often. Something was done, but not enough to take care of the actual need. But in occupied Germany at least their very life is not endangered. From the American zone, they promise themselves, they will be able to reach a land in which they can begin a new and happier life.

The people coming from Poland now are direct victims of National Socialism. These people should also be taken into consideration in all United Nations plans for help and rehabilitation. Hitler did not distinguish between the Jews in the different European countries. In his gigantic wave of destruction Hitler united us. We suffered together and we now want to live a free life together in a better era. [Applause.] We want and we must be considered a unit in the real sense of the word.

We are now living in the camps with neither firm ground beneath our feet nor a secure roof over our heads. Our daily nourishment depends upon mercy and our clothing is given according to the moods of

philanthropists. We feel that those who now feed and clothe us think we are living at the expense of others. Those who thus reason are greatly mistaken.

With the fortunes of which the Nazis robbed us, we could have financed all the relief and rehabilitation agencies in the world and still have a fortune left. Most of these stolen fortunes are still available. If only a fraction of them would be used for us, we could be living in homes and not in barracks. We could eat at tables covered with linen and would not have to fetch our bread of charity in tin bowls, as we are now doing. We could sleep in soft, white beds and not on narrow, hard bunks, as we are now doing. The world is not giving us anything; we are not parasites.

To illustrate the bad conditions under which we are now living, let me mention the fact that the American counsel for the defense in the Dachau War Crimes trials pointed to the conditions now prevailing in the Jewish camps to defend the accused concentration camp commanders and officials.

We possess no valid passports, no identity papers. In the eyes of a world divided into nations, we are intruders. The time has come to rehabilitate us at least in the matter of documentation. A practical suggestion is to issue to every homeless and stateless Jew a Jewish passport, granted by the Central Committee (of Liberated Jews) and approved by the Military Government. Such a passport should be equally valid with passports of other European states. It is our hope that, in the near future, this passport will be equivalent to a Palestinian passport. [Applause.] When all the homeless and stateless Jews of Europe will be granted the right to be Palestinian nationals, this passport should be valid for traveling and visa permits.

This would, of course, be synonymous with official recognition of the Jewish people as a nation. But who can at this time deny the Jews the moral right to exist as a nation? The fact that in the United States millions of Jews are living as free, equal citizens, is in no way contradictory to my proposal. For in the United States there are also free and equal people of Italian, Polish, French and other origins, who though they have not severed their ties with their mother countries, nevertheless remain good Americans.

The Jewish problem in Germany is daily becoming more critical. The fact that we have no place in the economic structure of this country and that for psychological reasons, which need no explanation, we categorically refuse to become a part of it, has no comparison in history. We consider our stay in Germany as a waiting period for emigration. Unfortunately, we have to bear the fact that our waiting room is located on the blood-drenched soil of our deadliest enemy.

But this waiting period must not and shall not be time lost; it must be used for training for a new, productive life. Practically nothing has been done thus far in this direction. Our youth, which spent its best years in the concentration camps and has had no opportunity to study, must make up for lost time. It is the sacred duty of the world to offer at least our children this compensation.

For a long time we have been requesting agricultural sites and workshops for vocational training. Our requests have gone unheeded. The fact that we are being fed calories and kept safe from storm and rain is not enough to strengthen us for a new life. Even here in the waiting room, we want to help ourselves. Evidence of this is our Central Committee, our newspapers, our camp administrations, our hospitals, schools and kindergartens, our artists, our orchestra and our workshops. All this has been established in spite of opposition. We shall strive with all our strength to prepare ourselves for a new life. [Applause.]

However, we need more assistance from the authorities. We must have more understanding and cooperation from those who are able to grant it. We can see why there is not always enough understanding of our situation and of the problems of our life. We can see why people who have lived normally, and, so to speak, fought under normal conditions, cannot always understand a tormented soul which still bears the stigma of the everyday life of the concentration camp. For we were considered and treated as slaves; yet within ourselves we were free and this made the treatment even more bestial.

During our long period of slavery we felt free, but our grave disappointment upon liberation, to which we looked forward for immediate rehabilitation and restitution, has made us sink into an abyss of depression. I regret that I must also report signs of demoralization among us. This is primarily the fault of the Nazi regime, but Allied authorities

who did nothing in the first nine months to eliminate these conditions must share part of the guilt. This appears to us to be the gravest danger of our existence.

As things stand, it appears better to be a conquered German than a liberated Jew. It may be difficult to carry out a program of restitution and rehabilitation in a vanquished country, but it will be equally impossible in any other country of the world. For what we need is life, care, consolation and kindness, together with a strict self discipline which can only stem from inner freedom, for our reconstruction.

What country in the world is in a position to carry through this program of education? What country is able and willing to do that? The only country that fulfills the conditions of this plan of consolation, of reconstruction and education is Eretz Israel. [Applause.] Only the human material of the Yishuv is capable and able to absorb the socially, culturally and economically broken remnant of the Jewish people in Germany.

We have in Germany now a problem of children, a problem of pregnant women; we have a problem of disabled and bedridden people and a problem of education. None of these problems can be solved by DP camps. Neither can these problems be solved by our own self-help organizations. What we need is the good-will and complete cooperation of the American Military Government for the *reconstruction en marche*. Otherwise we will never be able to break out of the vicious circle of our tragedy after the liberation of Europe.

To prevent future catastrophe for the Jewish people, the Council of Liberated Jews in Germany, at its last meeting, entrusted me with the mission to bring to this Third Session of the American Jewish Conference, an appeal to the people of America, Great Britain and Russia. The broken remnant of Israel in Europe addresses itself to the representatives of these great peoples, President Truman, His Majesty the King of England, and Generalissimo Stalin, with this request to the victorious Allies who fought for justice, freedom and human progress.

Give us also at last a small place under God's sun. This place can only be in the land from which we began our long-suffering exile. Enroll us in the family of nations as the most tortured children in the story of mankind. Then the United Nations Organization will, from the

start, be a true union of the world's peoples. And through this act, which the conscience of mankind owes us, the peoples of the earth will begin their march toward a better future. Honor the obligation due against an historic injustice, which has just cost the blood of six million humans, and give us back Eretz Israel.

[The speaker then delivered a portion of his address in Yiddish.]

My dear brothers and sisters: I am grateful to the destiny which has brought me the good fortune of being the spokesman for the tiny handful of European Jewry, and which enables me to bring from them a message to you, the representatives of a strong and proud American Jewry.

It is wonderful for a person whose eyes have, during the past six years, seen tens of thousands, millions, of Jews slaughtered, to see with these same eyes this assembly which represents the great American Jewish community.

I do not believe that we in Europe are the true *Shaarith Haplaitah*. You, who have survived by virtue of the fact that you escaped earlier—"plaitah" means escape—are the real *Shaarith Haplaitah*. Historically it is unimportant when one escaped, whether it was fifty years, a hundred years, or two hundred years ago. Therefore I believe that the *Shaarith Haplaitah* is American Jewry. We of European Jewry are the remnant of the *churbonim*, the remnant of the destruction, and as a representative of the *Shaarith Hachurbonim*, I speak to you, the *Shaarith Haplaitah*.

The Jewish people now consists of three principal sections: of you, of the *Yishuv* in Palestine, and of us. These three Jewries are today embattled for the survival of the Jewish people.

I have a great deal to tell you. My mission is not only to speak to you of our present plight, of our suffering, of the problems of the Jews who are now in the camps. I have a larger mission to fulfill.

I should tell you of the desires of the six million people we have lost, because I was with them. I suffered with them for many years; I endured hunger with them for years; I was beaten with them. They are no longer here, but they spent much time in thought; they spoke of their thoughts, and it is of these thoughts, that I should speak to you, the thoughts of the people who are not alive today to speak for them-

selves. I should tell you of the wishes of these six million dead. But you are here in conference, and since a conference has practical goals, I must not take up your time for that purpose. I can only tell you of the plight, of the suffering, and of the reflections of the small handful who now are left in Germany.

We could save ourselves the trouble of all these speeches if I could present to you here the camps, one after another: Dachau, Feldaing, Degendorf, Fahrenwald. This would be the most impressive speech, and the sharpest spur to each individual to become an instrument, and for all of you to act together, in the greatest political struggle that the Jewish people have ever carried on. I cannot do that. My descriptive powers are too weak to make me a really good representative.

But I must here speak of your good representatives. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the American Jewish Conference, in the name of the *Shaarith Hachurbonim*, for the warmth and the understanding of those whom you sent us—Major Fleishman, Dean Sar, and others. I want to take this opportunity, too, to express our thanks for the soul-saving labors of the American chaplains, and especially do I express the desire of our Jewry to give thanks for the great work of Chaplain Abraham Klausner. [Applause.]

I believe that in spite of all the accounts you have read in the press, and despite the reports you have received from your representatives, and despite the messages that we, the few representatives of the displaced Jews, have brought you, the broad masses of American Jewry still have no real conception of the position of the Jews in Germany. You hear that the body of Jewry which is left is a demoralized body. I read an account in an American newspaper a few weeks ago of an American correspondent, who deplored the unsanitary conditions existing in the camps, and reproached the Jews for this. Had any other people suffered such indignities as we, they would have emerged as beasts. They would have murdered each other. We have proof of that. I was in Dachau concentration camp with political prisoners of the Nazis. I saw them eat the warm flesh of their dead comrades. I saw one man stab another for a morsel of bread. At the same time I saw one Jew divide his scrap of bread with another, and I have seen a Jew who was

only slightly stronger, help his weaker comrade. That is the result of our 2,000-year-old culture.

There are things which indicate a degree of demoralization in small matters, but they are not basic. When we take into consideration their years of unspeakable torture, and then compare these Jews with other peoples of Europe, who have not been in concentration camps, who have only endured the Nazi regime for a year or two, we know it is not the Jews, but the others who are demoralized. This accusation which is flung at us by other people, we deny proudly and categorically. [Applause.] Among ourselves we know that it is a minor disease for which the guilt is not wholly ours. We know that the mills of the organizations grind slowly.

I have already told you that the greatest disappointment we suffered was the liberation. We were more astounded at the liberation than we were at the bestiality of the National Socialists, because from them we expected nothing; we knew that we dealt with devils. When we lay covered with vermin in dirty hovels at Dachau, we did not dream of being liberated; no one harbored the illusion that a miracle would occur and that we would be freed. But, when in a moment of weakness any of us indulged in the luxury of fantastic dreams, and conjured up the miracle that a small percentage of European Jewry would be liberated, we pictured to ourselves, in the event of that miracle, the whole civilized world rallying to our side. We thought it would be there instantly to comfort us, to heal us, and to fulfill our every wish.

What actually happened? For three months we lay behind barbed wire and no one came to us, not even you, our brothers, were permitted to come to us. And what of the present? We live in a political vacuum. Our lives consist of bitter, frightful nights, and of impossible days, and our future is obscure.

That is why we say that our liberation was our greatest disappointment. From Hitler we expected nothing, but from the free, from the great, from the just democracies, we had hoped for and expected action. The pitiful handful that escaped and lived through the crimes of National Socialism, against which they fought, are the living proof of the magnitude of these crimes. Those who had sunk to the nethermost depths would be raised to the loftiest heights—that is what we believed;

that is what we dreamed, and that is why we say that our liberation was our bitterest disappointment. That is why the Jews are in a mood of dreadful depression.

I must say to you that the broad masses of the *Shaarith Hachurbonim* find themselves at a very low ebb so far as their morale is concerned. We thank God that we have at least a youth group that helps to fortify our morale. These boys and girls say: and what if they will not admit us to Palestine? We have nothing to lose! According to Hitler's calculations we are no longer alive, so imagining that we no longer live (and I can tell you this is no idle phrase), we are ready to risk our lives in order to enter the land of Israel. [Applause.] That is our resolve.

Something new has crystallized in the hearts and minds of the *Shaarith Hachurbonim*, something new of which you are perhaps not aware—and that is *Ichud*, the spirit of unity, *Ichud Haam*, unity of the people. This development may perhaps serve as an example for other Jewish communities. Tonight, at the former estate of Streicher, which is now a training farm of *Halutzim*, a conference was opened. The United Zionist Youth in Germany met there. [Applause.] This organization has no parties and is in no way divided into groups. It has but one purpose: to unite all Jews under one flag—the Blue and White Flag. [Applause.]

I want to conclude, my dear friends, by saying that we, the *Shaarith Hachurbonim*, and you, the *Shaarith Haplaitah*, and the heroic Palestinian *Yishuv*, will transform the White Paper into a Blue and White Book—the Constitution of the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine. [The assembly arose and applauded.]

. . .

Report of Palestine Committee

CHAIRMAN WISE—Ladies and gentlemen: I am going to put a question to you.

MANY VOICES—Tomorrow, tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN WISE—The suggestion is made that we have had some great moments tonight; we have been thrilled by the word that has just been spoken. The suggestion is made that instead of reading and adopting the Palestine Resolution, instead of that we postpone it until tomorrow morning at ten o'clock and adjourn.

The Chair puts the matter up to you. You will decide. Dr. Silver is satisfied either way.

[The overwhelming majority voted in favor of hearing the Palestine Resolution at once. Dr. Silver read the resolutions prepared by the Palestine Committee (for text, see pages 233-236), all of which were adopted by "a very large, preponderate majority." Dr. Wise explained that the votes were not recorded as "unanimous" out of consideration for a few delegates who could not agree to one of the resolutions adopted, but who refrained from a negative vote. These resolutions included a message to the Yishuv in Palestine and a cable which the assembly authorized the Palestine Committee to send to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The meeting also approved the suggestion of the Palestine Committee that all the resolutions adopted be sent to the Anglo-American Committee.]

CHAIRMAN WISE—Before we pass from a consideration of the resolutions which have just been adopted, the Chair hopes he may be forgiven if he says there was a very excellent Committee which prepared these resolutions. I watched the Committee and I am happy to tell you that its inspiring leader was Rose Halprin who is here tonight. [Applause.]

DR. ISRAEL TABAK—I would like to know why this Committee did not bring in a resolution of protest against the admission of the Mufti's cousin, Jemal Husseini, to Palestine.

CHAIRMAN WISE—Don't you think, sir, that Rabbi Silver dealt adequately with Jemal?

DR. TABAK—We should like to know why.

DR. SILVER—There is no why.

CHAIRMAN WISE—We left it to Dr. Silver and Dr. Silver dealt adequately with Jemal.

DR. SILVER—Not adequately enough. [Laughter.]

CHAIRMAN WISE—Ladies and gentlemen: we cannot adjourn until we have heard Mr. Kenen, the General Secretary of the American Jewish Conference.

[MR. KENEN announced the number of members on the Interim Committee to which each bloc was entitled and the deadline for presenting names of nominees for the Committee, which was set for Tuesday morning at 9:30. He also announced committee and bloc meetings scheduled for that evening and the following morning. The meeting was adjourned at 11:30 p.m.]

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 19TH

Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, presiding

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN [opened the meeting at 11:30 a.m.]—Ladies and gentlemen: We are going to hear from Colonel Bernard Bernstein, who was formerly Director of the Finance Division and of the Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets in the Office of the Military Government in Germany; who was one of the advisers on financial matters to General Eisenhower; and who is, of course, an authority fully informed on the subject of reparations as that subject affects the Jewish people in Europe today.

I have the honor to present to the Conference Colonel Bernard Bernstein. [Applause.]

Address Colonel Bernard Bernstein

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: When I was invited to speak to this Session of the American Jewish Conference, I was asked to talk about the problems of reparations, restitution and indemnification for the Jewish people. I have written a speech on that subject. I think the speech is somewhat technical and it probably would not interest all of you to hear about it in great detail. I should like, therefore, to take the liberty of submitting the speech to the Secretary for inclusion in your records, and very briefly summarize some of my views on that question, and, if I may, take a few minutes to discuss another aspect of a world problem which I think does affect Jews.

At Paris there was a conference of the Allied powers dealing with the problem of reparations. They made very small provision for reparations to the Jewish people; one might almost say trifling provision, amounting to not much over \$25,000,000 plus some looted property that came out of the concentration camps.

I think some representative Jewish organization ought to be in a position to pursue with the various governments concerned the possi-

bilities of getting additional reparations for the Jewish people, and also to see that the reparations that have been awarded are actually turned over to an appropriate Jewish organization for use in the resettlement and rehabilitation of the surviving Jews of Europe.

Little as has been done in the field of reparations, even less has been done in the field of restitution and indemnification for those enormous losses that the Jewish people have suffered in Germany and elsewhere in Central Europe. However, the governments—and particularly the American Government—are beginning to study the problem. The problem is very complex. To prove the claims of millions of Jewish people, to prove the claims to scores of millions of items of property, to prove the claims where documents have been destroyed will be very difficult. It will take a great deal of patience. It will take a great deal of ingenuity.

However, it would seem to me, from what I have seen both in Germany and in Washington, that there is the possibility of things being recovered either by way of restitution or by way of indemnification. There is enough possibility of some recovery being made so that Jewish organizations, in discharging their responsibility to the Jewish people, ought actively to pursue a program with respect to the governments on these matters.

The problem of restitution and indemnification arises not merely with respect to Germany and Austria, but with respect to other countries of Europe. I know that there is a good deal of feeling that no international group ought, as it were, to interfere within any of the Allied countries, or any of the Axis countries other than Germany or Austria, in an attempt to work out the problem of restitution and indemnification, as well as reparations, for the Jewish people.

To my way of thinking, the problem is more complex than that. In some countries, the standing of the government, the strength of the Jewish community is such that the Jewish people can afford to allow the local community to deal with that problem.

In other countries those factors do not exist. Responsible Jewish organizations representing Jews, particularly the great number of Jews who have died leaving no heirs, ought to keep an eye on the situation, ought to do whatever is possible to get restitution and indemnification, not merely because those funds would then become available for re-

settlement and rehabilitation of Jews, but also in order that the record in history be kept straight. History should record the losses that have occurred to the Jewish people, both in body and in property, and how little the countries of the world have done to repair that injury.

If I may, then, I would also like to discuss another problem with which I have had some experience during the past three years, as financial adviser to General Eisenhower, and some experience for a considerable period of time prior to that, when I was at the Treasury. I don't think that we can judge or fully appreciate the Jewish problem simply by looking at what has occurred in the great countries of the world with respect to Palestine or the Jewish problem.

We must see what the great countries have been doing in related fields and with regard to non-Jewish problems.

On November 8, 1942, when our troops landed in North Africa, we had a thoroughly worked-out military plan for the defeat of the potential enemy forces. That battle was the beginning of the campaign in Europe. The European military campaign was successful in destroying the armies of Nazism and Fascism.

At the same time, what were we doing on the political front? The world was shocked when it found out that we were doing business with Darlan, and that we had put Darlan in office in North Africa, that we were doing business with other Petainists and Vichyites, like Boisson in West Africa, Nogues in Morocco, and Peyrouton in Algiers. The explanation offered to the public that we did this in order to save the lives of American soldiers does not bear scrutiny.

The fact of the matter is that the men charged with giving political advice to General Eisenhower did not feel deeply about Nazism and Fascism, did not realize that that was the prime reason that we had gone to war. They believed in expediency and in convenience.

When we went into Sicily and into Italy, our experience was very much the same. Our military efforts were successful; our political efforts brought us shame. We sought to prop up King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio. But not even we and the British could successfully prop up those Fascists against the demands of the Italian people and the Italian political leaders, who wanted democratic leadership.

In the summer of 1944, we had completed the planning and had

begun to put into execution the military operations against Germany from the West. As we now know, those military operations were eminently successful. At the same time, what was our planning on the political and economic side with respect to Germany? The directive that had been given to General Eisenhower for Germany at that time was virtually, word for word, the same as the directive that had been given to him for Sicily. That was the extent of our thinking.

When the matter was called to the attention of President Roosevelt, he was shocked, he was bitterly critical, and he demanded that his staff prepare a more adequate program. Thereafter, for eight months there was a fierce struggle in the Government and among the public, but finally what came to be known as "Joint Chief of Staffs' Directive Number 1067" was issued.

The essence of that directive is embodied in the paragraph which says that:

"The principal Allied objective is to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a threat to the peace of the world. Essential steps in the accomplishment of this objective are the elimination of Nazism and militarism in all their forms, the immediate apprehension of war criminals for punishment, the industrial disarmament and demilitarization of Germany, with continued control over Germany's capacity to make war, and the preparation for an eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis."

The philosophy which had been embodied in the American directive to General Eisenhower was repeated in a tripartite agreement signed at Potsdam in August, 1945, which stated that "German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world."

The Potsdam Agreement laid down a detailed program for carrying out that objective in Germany. Nevertheless, there were on the American staff in Washington and on our military government staff in Germany key officials who did not view Nazism and Fascism in that light, who

were unwilling to destroy Germany's war potential, and who were unwilling ruthlessly to destroy Nazism and Fascism.

Let us compare very briefly what has happened in the four zones in Germany:

The Russians, so far as one can observe—and I have talked with them at great length in Berlin—mean to destroy Germany's war-making power, mean to destroy Nazism and Fascism. Thus far, they have taken considerable measures to carry out that program. They destroyed the Junker and military forces in their zone, both by arresting those people who remained and by dividing up the land into $12\frac{1}{2}$ acre farms, which they gave to the German peasants. They have destroyed the centralized economic power and have strongly supported the program for the destruction of cartels. They have sought to increase agricultural production. They have removed considerable quantities of industrial equipment, but that which they have permitted to remain they have enabled to function. What you have in the Russian zone is a testimonial to the fact that the Potsdam Agreement is not a policy of lunacy, as some have suggested, but is workable, at the same time reducing Germany's war potential and allowing a decent and orderly life to continue.

In the British zone, we find that the British policy is of a piece with the British policy throughout the world. Britain is determined to retain its position as an equal of the United States and of Russia. To accomplish that, Britain must head up a bloc of countries and colonies throughout the world. To accomplish that, she wants to be the head of a Western bloc which will include Germany.

Furthermore, Britain is also following its traditional policy of balance of power in Europe. To that end, she needs a strong Germany as a counterweight to Russia. Consequently, both British Tory and Labor Governments, rather than reduce, have sought to increase Germany's industrial power and Germany's capacity for war.

Britain, I might say, has made even less progress than the American forces in carrying out the demilitarization, denazification, decentralization and deindustrialization provisions of the Potsdam Agreement.

In the French zone, there has been somewhat ineffective administration because France has not been able to get together a sufficiently strong military government organization. I believe, however, that the French

are determined this time to see Germany sufficiently weakened so as to protect France against future aggression. I have talked with many Frenchmen. They have differences of view as to what is the most effective way of accomplishing that, but I think they mean to avoid the repetition of what occurred after 1918, when Clemenceau allowed himself to be talked out of doing those things necessary to protect France.

Thus far our State Department, however, has been unwilling to accept any of the proposals made by the French to internationalize the Ruhr and the Western Rhineland.

In the American zone, the internal struggles that I have mentioned, which stem from conflicting views as to a sound policy, have resulted in only half-hearted efforts to carry out the directives embodied in "1067" and at Potsdam. Even those half-hearted efforts took place only because the press had revealed the failures in accomplishments.

The field of denazification is perhaps the best known. In August, 1945, the political division, under the direction of the same man who had been Eisenhower's political adviser in North Africa and in Italy, had said that the denazification program was substantially completed in the American zone. The following months the American press revealed how untrue that was and how unsympathetic many officials on the American staff were to any effective denazification program.

I know from personal experience how unsympathetic they were. Those who have urged the carrying out of a denazification program have been charged with being vindictive. I have been told by other officers that they proposed to run the functions that they were charged with, regardless of the fact that that entailed retaining Nazis, even including the Nazi who was the leading German railway official and who had, to a large extent, assisted in the movement of the German forces into the East, and assisted in the destruction of many millions of people in that area. The man's name was Dorpmuller. He was retained by our forces. Our forces were protected from a public scandal only by the fact that Dorpmuller was so old that he finally died.

The security of the world requires the obliteration of the German General Staff. We are talking here only of about seven or eight thousand men. It is not a difficult thing to deal with them in so effective a way

that they can never again contribute to the restoration of military forces in Germany.

Nevertheless, you find on the American side and on the British side people who think that, with respect to the German General Staff, it is sufficient that we simply deprive them of the right to vote and put them under the equivalent of house arrest.

The directives from Washington to arrest and destroy the power of the big German industrialists and financiers have not been carried out. I know from the investigations that I myself conducted, with respect to some of which I have testified before the Kilgore Committee, that the big German industrialists and financiers were partners of the Nazis. They helped bring Nazism into power. They worked hand and glove with Nazism in planning the war, in carrying on the war, and in benefiting from the aggressions. The power of those people has not been destroyed.

The American public, including the Jewish members of the American public, must realize that Germany's war-making industrial capacity was not destroyed by bombing or shelling; that Germany's technical capacity and its man-power were not destroyed; that mere demobilization of Germany's military forces does not destroy Germany's military might; and that by and large the great mass of German people only regret the defeat, and dream nostalgically of the good times and the power of Germany under Hitler.

What we find happening in Germany, we also find happening elsewhere in the world. Franco Spain has boasted of its adherence to the doctrines of Nazism and Fascism. Franco Spain has suppressed democracy.

Our Government and the British Government have known for a long period of time the help that Franco Spain has been to Germany. Nevertheless, that evidence has as yet not been revealed. During the war, our Government sought to excuse doing business with Franco on the ground of military expediency. However, the war is over now, and what excuse do we have for continuing to do business with Franco?

In Argentina, our Government has finally revealed the evidence which it has had for a long time—in substance, the evidence that Germany has recreated in Argentina an economic structure comparable to the

economic structure that it wishes to use, in order to help it prepare for war during the period while we occupy Germany. Mind you, I am paraphrasing the American Government's report, and the report also charges that Nazis, German Nazis, are working together with Argentine Fascists in creating a Nazi-Fascist state in Argentina. But our Government has not explained why it was that, having substantially all of this information in its possession, nevertheless, at San Francisco it insisted, over bitter opposition, that Argentina be admitted to the United Nations Organization.

In our own country, in the United States, we find pro-Nazi, pro-Fascist organizations again coming to the surface, again obtaining increasing public support for their creed of bigotry and their gospel of hatred. They are even finding support on the floors of the Congress amongst the minority, who are viciously distorting matters in order to confuse the American public as to the true purpose of the Potsdam Agreement provisions to destroy Nazism and to destroy Germany's war potential.

We wonder why our great countries—Britain and the United States—have failed to carry out their pledges to the Jews. They are not carrying out other pledges. Their failure to carry out their pledges to the Jews is simply one aspect of their failure to carry out other pledges.

American policy swings like a pendulum. Sometimes we view world affairs through glasses furnished us by the British Foreign Office; sometimes we lay those glasses aside and view problems in terms of what we as Americans think is in the interest of world peace and world security.

Unfortunately, there are too many good people and good organizations in the United States who are indifferent to what is happening in this field of our world relations. Unless something is done soon, not only will the Jews not have Palestine, but we will have lost the peace; and if we lose the peace, we cannot be sure that we will win the next war. Even if we were to win the atomic war, the destruction that would ensue would take centuries to erase. [Applause.]

. . .

I am sure that Colonel Bernstein realizes by the applause how his address, which he greatly curtailed for reasons of economy of time, was received, and I am sure that I would be voicing the sentiments of the delegates present if I said to him, in your name, that we have heard from a real authority, from a man of experience, from a man fully conversant with the field discussed, an authoritative and highly illuminating paper, and that we only hope that some of the warnings that he addressed to us will be heeded and the consequences that he foresaw may thus be averted.

Address Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein

THIS is the Session one before the last. Practically the last, but not actually so, because someone else will preside during the "N'eelah" service of the Conference.

As a member of the Religious Orthodox bloc, I suppose that I ought to refer to this Session as the "one before *Acharon*." Traditionally, the honor designated as "one before *Acharon*" is not held in too high esteem. By this time, however, I am used to such honors. As a matter of fact, I feel that I am making considerable advancement. At Madison Square Garden I was the tenth speaker following nine very illustrious speakers who preceded me. At this Conference I have been moved up one notch. At this rate my hope for further advancement lies in the Conference becoming a permanent body. [Laughter.]

We are about to hear from the Post-War Committee, and they will present resolutions to us. In order to set the mood for the Committee, I should like to make a few observations which, in the course of a very busy conference, may have been overlooked.

I, too, have just returned from a mission to Europe. Only two weeks ago I was in Frankfort, Germany. I did not travel as an emissary of the American Jewish Conference. I traveled in another capacity, for another important organization: The War Department of the United States.

My task was to visit the Jewish chaplains and the Jewish personnel in the European and Mediterranean theatres. Before I left, however, it was my good fortune to meet in conference with the Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower, who gave me certain directives with respect to the mission

which I was embarking upon, and among those directives, later repeated by Generals McNarney, Truscott and Clark, was the request to visit the displaced persons camps in the American zones of Germany and Austria.

I am sure that for a member of the American Jewish Conference, for a rabbi and for a Jew, these directives were not necessary. I would have done that anyway. Nevertheless, they opened certain areas, which otherwise would have remained closed.

I visited the entire American zone in Austria and in Germany. It was my good fortune to spend two hours with the successor of General Patton, General Truscott, and I think that the American Jewish Conference would not have criticized one of their number if they could have "listened in" on the Zionist talk that was addressed by a member of the Conference to General Truscott and to his entire staff. I spent two hours with the General, and when a rabbi can deliver a two-hour talk, he is in paradise, even when with military people. [Laughter.]

I had occasion to explain to him and to others the significance of keeping the borders of the American zone open for the infiltrates who were then pouring in from Poland, from Hungary and from other countries, into the American zone. It was just about that time that the statement of General Morgan, the UNRRA Director, had been issued, and it was very important that certain information be given to these men in authority.

I visited almost all of the displaced persons camps in the American zone, and I need not elaborate on what I saw there. What we heard last night from Dr. Zalman Grinberg had better remain as the final, the complete and most comprehensive statement of that unspeakable tragedy of the surviving Jews of Europe.

However, I feel that it is necessary to call attention to just a few things which may have been overlooked by others. First, whatever the conditions of displaced persons of the Jewish faith were during the early months immediately following liberation, I think that any observer will have to agree that the conditions have been greatly improved, and for that improvement we, as American citizens and as Jews, owe a debt of gratitude to the understanding, to the sympathy, to the sense of American hospitality and generosity towards the persecuted—manifested by all of the American forces from the topmost general down to the lowest GI. [Applause.]

In every Army command, the question that was invariably asked by commanding generals was: "Rabbi, have you observed the DP camps? Is there anything that you would like to suggest for the improvement of conditions?" And you may be sure that suggestions were abundantly made.

There was one particular occasion in Nuremberg, where Major General Leroy Watson, in charge of the Nuremberg enclave, asked me whether I wouldn't be good enough to appeal to the Jewish displaced persons in a camp at Fürth, not far from Nuremberg—if I wouldn't appeal to them so that they would allow themselves to be moved from that camp to a better camp. This may appear strange. Why shouldn't they want to be moved to better areas? But when we understand the psychology of the displaced persons, then we realize that movement to these people is associated with possible transportation to death. They resist being moved. They fear a freight car; they fear an army transport. I have seen them jumping from the army transport going from Zeilsheim to Leipsheim and to other, better places, because they did not know what would await them at the other end of the trip. That is why appeals had to be made to them to be moved to better locations and to areas where the accommodations were superior.

All of that I quote in order to show the increasing understanding on the part of the Army authorities in Europe today towards the displaced persons.

As to the question of infiltrees—when there was talk about shutting down the borders, which would have meant the pronouncement of the death sentence on tens of thousands of Jews in Poland and in Hungary—that question was dealt with very judiciously. Let me here relate that one important Army General said: "We are dealing with it very judiciously, and we spell the word 'judiciously' as follows—J-e-w-d-i-c-i-o-u-s-l-y. Orders were given to interpret certain laws adopted in Potsdam in a broad and liberal sense, to permit the flow of infiltrees to come unhampered into the American zone." [Applause.]

In a conference with General McNarney on the day that I left Frankfurt, the General observed that in the matter of infiltrees, the army was actually violating laws that were passed at Potsdam. I remarked that the

army might be violating Potsdam laws, but that it was obeying divine and humanitarian laws. [Applause.]

I described to the General the conditions under which displaced persons were living in some of the camps. I tried to describe to him the actual physical appearance of those who were erroneously, if not maliciously described by another as "pink-cheeked, well clothed and well fed." I spoke of the spiritual and intellectual grandeur of Polish and Lithuanian Jewry—of their great Talmudists, writers, poets and social philosophers. I enumerated some of the great synagogues and academies of learning, the libraries, the newspapers, the authors whose works were translated into every European tongue; the institutions of mercy and all that went into the make-up of the Jewish Community in Poland. In contrast I pointed out the fate of the three million Polish Jews—the concentration camps, the crematoria and gas chambers, the pillage, the rape, the plunder, the barbarism and humiliation to which sages, saints and students were subjected, and finally the despair and disillusionment of the displaced persons camp. I pointed out that the salvation of the surviving remnant was not merely the saving of one hundred thousand men and women and their children. It represented the attempt to preserve a civilization, to resurrect a culture by which a people lived and through which humanity as a whole was enriched and blessed.

As I spoke to General McNarney, I could not repress the tears that came to my eyes. I apologized to the General for this weakness. Whereupon he patted my shoulder and said: "I understand how you feel. We will continue to obey divine and humanitarian laws." As I looked into his face, I noticed that his eyes too were moist.

In connection with the attitude of the Army, there also ought to be mentioned the heroic work on behalf of the displaced persons performed selflessly, sacrificially, rabbinically, Jewishly and humanitarially by that splendid body of American rabbis in uniform, known as the Jewish chaplains. [Applause.]

Dr. Grinberg mentioned the name of one chaplain, although he included in his gratitude all of them. He mentioned Chaplain Abraham Klausner. This young rabbi with but limited experience in the ministry went out immediately after V-E Day to seek his brethren. He found them, and finding them, also discovered himself. What he did in the

Munich area reads like a legend. But what he did was also done by Chaplains Braude, Lippman, Hyman, Gorin, Hazelkorn, Vida, Wall, Dembowitz, Paperman, Isaac Klein, Poliakoff, Rakowsky, Plaut, Marcus, Schacter, Schubow and Meyer Goldman. Indeed, every one of the sixty Jewish chaplains in the European theater, in addition to serving the military personnel under their charge, did heroic work in serving their brethren in the areas liberated. When their story will be told, as it cannot yet be told, their record of service will be one of the epics of American Jewish history. [Applause.]

These men risked their lives as well as their military careers. They brought food to the starving, medicine to the sick and spiritual ministrations to the dying. They opened up schools for the young and provided textbooks for them. They reunited families and they transmitted to us here authentic confirmation of the tragedy that befell our people and the plight of the survivors.

We of the rabbinate and you of the laity must acknowledge in reverence and humility our gratitude and admiration for that brave band of young heroes, the Jewish members of the Chaplains Corps of the United States Army. [Applause.]

And what the chaplains did, the GI's imitated. Jewish, as well as non-Jewish GI's shared their rations with the hungry and wrote home for supplies for the needy. As many as ten thousand packages a week would arrive destined for displaced persons camps in Europe. These packages came from American homes, Jewish and Christian. They were distributed by supply sergeants, Jewish and Christian. Thus did the American soldier of every faith and nationality illustrate by action the sturdy character of American democracy and the true significance of universal brotherhood.

Finally, dear friends, I think that a word ought to be said about an outstanding personality in Europe today, whose record of achievement in behalf of Jewish DP's is a glorious one, and of whom all of us have reason to be greatly proud. The American Jewish Community and, in the long run, the American army and America itself will owe a deep debt of gratitude to an able, scholarly, efficient and highly spirited Jewish young man, in the person of Judge Simon Rifkind, who is acting as the adviser to General McNarney on Jewish affairs. He would very much

have wanted to be here at this Session. The only reason that he did not come is because his task is still unfinished, and he is there trying to advance his efforts to yield even greater and more fruitful results.

I felt, dear friends, that these few observations had to be made; that we ought to register our gratitude to the army, our recognition of the Jewish chaplains, our appreciation to the military personnel of every faith, and finally our admiration for one who in a sense represents the American Jewish Community in military life—Judge Simon Rifkind.

Thank God that in the most critical hour of our people's history we were not entirely forsaken. A kindly Providence did place men of ability and spirit where they might render service desperately needed. In the darkest hour there were at least a few bright stars to light up the horizon of Israel. [Applause.]

. . .

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—Fellow delegates: I have been asked to convey to you the message, on behalf of the Palestine Committee, that greetings have been sent by the delegates, the young people, the youth of the American Jewish Conference, to the youth of the Yishuv in Palestine, and I am sure that this message will be heartwarming to the youth in Palestine. (For text of Youth Message, see page 182.)

It is now my pleasure to present the Chairman of the Post-War Committee, who, in his various capacities and in his numerous offices in Jewish organizations, has established for himself a great record of service throughout this crisis. I present the Chairman of the Post-War Committee, Rabbi Irving Miller. [Applause.]

Report of Post-War Committee

RABBI MILLER—Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates: The Post-War Committee is very pleased to present for your consideration the following resolutions, which are the fruit of much deliberation and attention. Many of them are based, as you would naturally expect, on resolutions that have already been adopted at the First and Second Sessions of this Conference. They are, therefore, in the nature of suggested implementation of these resolutions, and others convey original thought and demands in the light of developing situations.

[RABBI MILLER presented five resolutions. (For final texts, see pages 237-242.) In connection with the Resolution on Reparations, Restitution and Compensation, he stressed the significance of Provision 5 which was designed to protect the "Jews of German origin now living in South American countries, in European countries, even in America, whose property is being sequestered because of their former nationality, regardless of the fact that these people are the victims of that country whom we fought to vanquish and destroy." A Resolution on Jewish Representation was also read by Rabbi Miller.]

RABBI MILLER—This resolution deals with what has already been referred to over and over again as perhaps the core of our abnormal position in the world:

"In view of the fact that the United Nations Organization has accorded recognition and status to non-governmental bodies representing labor and consumer groups, the Third Session reaffirms the demand voiced at the previous sessions of the Conference for the recognition by the United Nations Organization of a Jewish representation on agencies dealing with the problems of relief, rehabilitation, resettlement and other aspects of reconstruction, and instructs its Interim Committee, in cooperation with the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, to take the necessary steps to effectuate this demand."

I move the adoption of this resolution, Mr. Chairman.

[The motion was duly seconded.]

DR. SILVER—I am not clear about the meaning of that resolution. Does it mean that we are satisfied to be represented merely as an agency?

Is there to be another resolution asking that the Jewish people, as such, shall have representation in the United Nations Organization?

RABBI MILLER—That has already been included, Dr. Silver, I think, in the first resolution.

DR. SILVER—I wasn't here and I wondered.

RABBI MILLER—This deals specifically with those agencies that are being set up, such as the Human Rights Commission and other social and economic commissions that deal with these problems in which we are so vitally interested.

DR. SILVER—There is a request for the representation of our people in the United Nations Organization as a people, is there not?

RABBI MILLER—I don't think so.

DR. SILVER—Then this should be amended in such a way. I am not prepared at the moment to suggest the amendment. This gives the impression that we are satisfied simply to come in by a back door on some commissions of the United Nations.

RABBI MILLER—The Committee, I am sure, would not only not object, but would welcome the amendment suggested in principle by Dr. Silver, that this resolution be rephrased to go much further than it does, and to ask for the recognition of a place for the Jewish people in the United Nations Organization and on all appropriate agencies.

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—Is this presented as an amendment to the resolution?

RABBI MILLER—This is accepted by the Committee and there is, therefore, no need for a new amendment.

[DR. SARA FEDER recalled that the Labor Zionist bloc, "in line with the Labor and the Consumer groups," brought in a resolution asking that the Jews be represented. RABBI MILLER indicated, however, that the phrasing of the resolution had not satisfied some members of the Committee. The CHAIR thereupon sustained JANE EVANS in her point of order that the entire resolution be referred back to Committee, "as the plenary session itself is not the place in which any disagreements between members of the Committee should be thrashed out."]

RABBI MILLER—Mr. Chairman: I withdraw the Resolution on Jewish Representation. It will be referred back to the Committee and will be presented at a subsequent session, before the close of the Conference.

DR. ISRAEL TABAK—I want to know whether any provision has been made to take care of the suggestion that was voiced last night by Dr. Grinberg with regard to issuing passports.

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—That was taken care of in the first resolution.

[RABBI MILLER read a resolution on "Safeguarding the Peace," which was adopted. For text, see page 242.]

RABBI MILLER—I ask to be excused at this point, Mr. Chairman. The report is not altogether complete. Two more resolutions will be presented, one the redrafting of the resolution to which you have listened before, and another resolution dealing with relief activities.

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—Fellow delegates: We will now hear from the Finance Committee.

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM—Before we let Rabbi Miller leave, I would like to know if the Committee on Rescue and Rehabilitation is considering sending a message of encouragement to the *Shaarith Hachurban*?

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—That is included in the first resolution, which is quite an omnibus resolution.

Report of Budget and Finance Committee

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—We will now hear from the Chairman of the Finance Committee, and I think it is only fair, fellow delegates, to say that the Chairman of the Finance Committee has not only rendered service in the preparation of resolutions for this Conference, but has labored faithfully since the last Session of the Conference and has borne the burden of the financial support and maintenance of the Conference nobly and very effectively. In presenting him, we do so with a sense of appreciation for the service he has rendered. I present the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Aaron Droock.

MR. DROOCK—It seems to me, fellow delegates and Mr. Chairman, that the report of the Finance Committee is purposely left until almost the adjournment of the Conference. There is probably a very good reason for this, because, before we can give you a projected budget, we have to know what the projected program is. It is on the basis of this projected program, as well as our last year's experience, that our budget is drawn.

Now, I will read you the report which is brief. I can assure you that your Committee has given it very serious thought and I will ask for your careful consideration of the items here enunciated.

For your information, before reading the report, I want to tell you that last year we projected a budget of \$250,000, and we had to project it largely by guess because the operations of the year before were on such a limited basis that we pretty nearly had to estimate the entire budget.

The sum of \$250,000 is hereby fixed as the sum to be made available to the American Jewish Conference for the current year of 1946. Allocation for the use and administration of these funds, based upon the 1945 budgetary experience, is recommended as follows:

| | |
|--|----------|
| General Administration | \$67,000 |
| Meetings: | |
| Commissions, Regional, Interim and Executive Committee | 5,000 |
| Conference Session | 10,000 |
| Public Functions | 20,000 |
| Government Relations: | |
| Delegations to National and International Conferences | 35,000 |

| | |
|--|--------|
| Washington Office | 18,000 |
| Public Relations, Radio and Publications | 35,000 |
| Research | 15,000 |
| Community Relations | 15,000 |
| Overseas Department | 30,000 |

Some of these departmental expenditures have been increased and some have been decreased according to last year's experience.

The estimated budget is based upon expenditures and experience as reflected in the financial and operating statement of the American Jewish Conference for the calendar year of 1945. Due to our limited activities for the first six months of 1945, our expenditures during that period were proportionately considerably less than the expenditures incurred in the last six months' period. The expenditures for the last six months reflect fairly accurately our expanded program and increased activities. Upon the budgetary experience for these last six months the present budget is projected.

The recommendations herein made by the Budget and Finance Committee are based upon the assumption that we shall operate with practically the present administrative staff complement, the Washington Office* and an Overseas Department, plus the necessary commissions, committees and delegations to national and international conferences.

A resolution dealing with the method of raising funds was adopted by the Committee and is hereby recommended to the Conference. (For text, see page 243.)

That is respectfully submitted by your Committee. I move you the adoption of the report as submitted, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—You have heard the report and the resolution. Is there a second?

[The resolution was duly seconded.]

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—Fellow delegates: This resolution is going to cost us money, so be careful how you vote. [Laughter.]

Are there any discussions or questions that you would like to ask of the Chairman of the Finance Committee?

* In response to the need created by a concentration of activities in Washington, D. C., the American Jewish Conference established an office there on October 15, 1945, under the directorship of David R. Wahl.

A VOICE—On the question of radio, I would like to know what has been done along that line, why we have to allow \$35,000, and what has been done to spend that much money.

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—Mr. Kenen will answer that question. The question is why an allocation of \$35,000 has been made for radio work.

MR. DROOCK—I will answer that. That isn't radio work alone. It covers public relations, radio, etc. Mr. Kenen will enlarge upon that answer.

MR. KENEN—That includes *The Record*. It includes all the reports that we get out. Actually, the radio has cost us nothing but the salary of one man in the office, because all the time we use is free time.

MR. TEITELBAUM—I have made this observation before, and I would like to throw this thought out for the benefit of the delegates. The work that the American Jewish Conference is doing is overseas work, which embraces Palestine, postwar and rescue. Now, with all this work, it seems to me that it would be a poor policy if the interested national organizations would not continue these funds, so that we don't have to go out and make a separate drive. Otherwise, I think the right and proper place for us to get these funds should be out of UJA monies instead of making separate drives and confusing the communities all over again. They are going out now for \$100,000,000. It seems to me that it should come out of that particular fund.

MR. MORTIMER MAY—I believe that somewhere in this resolution there ought to be included the information that money given to the American Jewish Conference is exempt under the Internal Revenue Code. There are some individuals who, at the end of the year and at other times, might make contributions. I know that influenced some with whom I came into contact this year.

SARAH KUSSY—Many of the communities are getting their communal funds through the United Jewish Appeal. It is left to them to allocate their funds in the way in which they see fit.

Now, to have the community feel that sense of responsibility, that they know they must finance the Conference, there must be a closer connection between the delegates to this Conference and their communities, so that from time to time they report to the communities just how the Conference is progressing.

The news that *The Bulletin* contains from time to time makes the community feel that they are connected with the American Jewish Conference.

The Interim Committee has not, however, so worked out that connecting link between the delegates and their communities. I think that we should instruct the Interim Committee to work out in some way a closer relationship between the delegates and their communities, so that they may regularly report, and the communities will be made to understand that they have a real responsibility, financial and otherwise, to the American Jewish Conference.

MR. DROOCK—I think there is a word of explanation necessary and I want to make it so as to avoid any further discussion. In the first place, your budget was set up last year on the basis of \$250,000. We collected approximately \$200,000. That was allocated as follows: \$50,000 was to come from the constituent national organizations, \$50,000 from the City of New York, and \$150,000 from the communities.

Now, let me explain to you that we actually raised about \$120,000 from the communities, and at least \$90,000 to \$95,000 of that was contributed by the Federations and the central fund-raising agencies of the communities, so that in effect it came from your United Jewish Appeal funds.

We raised money independently only in smaller communities, where there were no central fund-raising agencies. The national constituent organizations of this group made their contribution.

For the benefit of the last lady who spoke, let me say this: The Conference office, through its public relations and publicity department, has kept before the Jewish public, through the Anglo-Jewish press and by proper releases, the entire program and activities of the Conference and has kept the leaders of the communities informed, through direct mailings to them, so that the communities and the constituent organizations are informed as to what is going on.

If some delegates from organizations have been derelict in their duty of reporting to their organizations, that is no fault of your administrative staff.

MISS KUSSY—The delegates report to the groups that elect them in many places, but not in all. Take my own City of Newark. The Community

Council has never asked the delegates to report to the Council or to the public at large through the Council. That condition exists elsewhere too.

CHAIRMAN LOOKSTEIN—Fellow delegates: Are we ready for the vote?

All those in favor of the adoption of the budget, together with the accompanying resolution, will please signify by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No."

The budget and the resolution stand adopted.

Message to Youth of Palestine

I told you a little earlier in the session that we had a statement issued by the Youth of the Conference to the Youth of Palestine, and I have been asked to read their statement, which is as follows:

"The Youth Delegates to the American Jewish Conference, representing the overwhelming majority of American Jewish Youth, recognize the efforts and activities of Palestine Jewish Youth in their strivings for the establishment of Palestine as a vigorous, free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. The Youth in Palestine, by their untiring labors, by their unselfish service, have gained the support of American Jewish Youth. Their actions have immeasurably contributed to the cultural and spiritual wealth of American Jewish Youth and Youth all over the world. Their physical contribution in the development of Palestine, their voluntary participation in World War II, their spiritual and cultural strength and creativity have inspired and elevated all of us. We pledge our continued and whole-hearted support to them."

You are not asked to vote for this. This is just a statement that was sent to the Palestine Youth.

[A brief recess was taken at 1:10 p.m.]

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 19TH

Henry Monsky, presiding

CHAIRMAN MONSKY [reconvened the meeting at 1:20 p.m.]—Will the Conference come to order, please. Rabbi Miller will complete the report of the Post-War Committee.

Report of Post-War Committee (continued)

[RABBI IRVING MILLER read a Resolution on Jewish Representation as a supplement to the Committee's report. The resolution was adopted with one amendment. For final text, see page 242.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Are you ready for the question on the motion to adopt the resolution as now read by Rabbi Miller?

JANE EVANS—I would like to offer an amendment to one phrasing there at the end. The amendment, which is completely in accordance with the resolution that we adopted at the last Session of the Conference, is that where the names of the organizations—American Jewish Conference, British Board of Deputies and World Jewish Congress—are read, we add a phrase such as “and such other representative bodies.”

RABBI MILLER—That is in agreement with our aims. I accept that.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The amendment has been accepted by the Chairman of the Committee, I assume without objection on the part of any member of the Committee. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor say “Aye”; contrary-minded, “No.” The motion is carried.

[RABBI MILLER then read a final resolution calling for close co-operation with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. See page 243.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—It has been moved and seconded that this resolution as read by the Chairman of the Post-War Committee be adopted.

ISRAEL KRAMER—Point of information. Is this resolution a unilateral decision to cooperate politically with the JDC, or is this in response to a request or promise of cooperation of the JDC?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I am sure the Chairman of the Committee will be able to give you the obvious answer to your question.

RABBI MILLER—This resolution represents neither demand nor response to demand. This resolution takes cognizance of a situation. It takes cognizance that in the field of relief, the JDC is shouldering a major and overwhelming part of the burden. It takes cognizance of the fact that the American Jewish Conference has been concentrating on such political interventions and representations as must be made to insure the social, economic and political rehabilitation of the Jews of Europe. Taking cognizance of these facts, it states what must appear to any logical person to be an inevitable corollary, that the two ought not to be isolated, but that there ought to be close cooperation and liaison.

MR. KRAMER—That does not answer my question.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I make this additional statement, and perhaps this will answer your question. I hope it will. You ask whether this was a unilateral action. It cannot be anything else but a unilateral action because the American Jewish Conference is the only organization that is participating in the matter of adopting this resolution. But the resolution itself recognizes the necessity for cooperation. It tenders the cooperation of the American Jewish Conference to the Joint Distribution Committee, which we ought to have reason to believe will, in return, call for a responsive cooperation on the part of the JDC. [Applause.]

MR. KRAMER—If I remember correctly, such a unilateral offer had been made at the very early stages of the activities of the Post-War and Rescue Committee, and it was flatly turned down.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—I don't think it is a correct statement that it was turned down. I think it is a correct appraisal of the present situation that a fully cooperative arrangement has not been effected, and that is to be desired. The reason we wanted an expression from the Conference once again is to give impetus to the efforts that were heretofore made to bring about a much closer and more effective cooperation. Is that right, Rabbi Miller?

RABBI MILLER—Right.

[CHAIRMAN MONSKY called for a vote and the motion was carried.]

RABBI MILLER—May I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Feder who acted as Secretary to the Post-War Commission and all of the members of the Post-War Commission who attended to their tasks so diligently.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I take this opportunity, Rabbi Miller, to express the thanks of this Conference to you as Chairman of the Committee for your invaluable services not only at this Session but at all previous Sessions in connection with the complicated and manifold post-war problems. [Applause.]

Concluding Remarks Henry Monsky

Every conference of this character is made up of two types of sessions. One is just the pure inspirational type and the other is that which does—and perhaps it is just as important—the necessary business, that deals with what we call *tachles*. It has always been my privilege to preside over those sessions in which the major part of the business of the Conference is transacted, instead of those sessions which are inspirational. I know that I was inspired and very deeply moved last night by what transpired at that Session. I am sure all of you were. As a matter of fact, I discovered, if I had not known it before, that Dr. Grinberg was a *landsman* of mine. I understand Yiddish. I understood it too well last night—so well that it moved me to tears. I turned to Mr. Gellman on my right and said that I understand his Yiddish better than I do that of many others. I presume that is because my people came from Kovno, and he talks the Yiddish that is my mother tongue. I want Dr. Grinberg to know that as magnificent as his English address was, his Yiddish address made an even greater impact upon me. [Applause.] I knew that you all agreed with that. It was the highlight of the Conference.

Before we dispose of the three or four business matters that are yet to be taken care of prior to the closing of this Conference, I would like to make just a few remarks about what I consider has been the most important Session of the American Jewish Conference since its inception. I had no vision, at the time that the first call went out for the Pittsburgh Conference, that the American Jewish Conference would be anything other than a body, an ad hoc body, designed to bring about, what I had hoped for then, complete unity in Jewish life. Naive and inexperienced as I was, I thought that it would be possible to bring all Jews, all responsible Jewish leaders into a room and have them discuss the grave problems which we were facing, and that, under the impact of the unprecedented tragedy that was facing our people and was gradually and rapidly devastating them, we could work out what was then termed a “common program of action.”

We did not achieve complete unity. We did achieve substantial unity in Jewish life, as is evidenced by the vitality and the vigor of this Session

of the American Jewish Conference—the Third Session of the American Jewish Conference that has the statesmanship and the vision not only to continue to carry on and intensify its activities, to deal with the problems for which it was called, but to think in terms of a principle that has always been very close to my heart, provided it is carried on with the kind of statesmanship that gave it birth—the principle of democratic representation in vital Jewish problems of the American Jewish Community.

Now, that is not new with me. Dr. Wise will testify, as he very well recalls, that a number of years ago and before the American Jewish Conference was called, he was very generous and kind enough to pay me a perhaps much undeserved compliment at the conclusion of a speech that I made in Washington at the United Palestine Appeal Conference on the question of Jewish leadership and the necessity for Jewish leadership having a universal interest in all of the facets of Jewish life. I inveighed against the whole doctrine of isolationism. I spoke at that time of the necessity for Jewish leaders being responsible representatives of, and responsive to, their constituency—the American Jewish Community. It was in connection with the issue that was then presented when there was a threatened split between the UPA and the Joint Distribution Committee, if you recall. It is a principle that we have always subscribed to.

There are two types of leaders in American Jewish life as there are practically in every community in the world. There are some who think that the *sine qua non* of Jewish life is philanthropy. There are some who think that Jewish life requires an intense interest on the part of the communities and therefore necessarily on the part of the leadership in Jewish survival values, in Jewish education, in Jewish tradition, in Jewish history, in great contemporary Jewish movements; in short, an interest in the future destiny of Israel—an interest in those values which exemplify the will of the Jewish people to live. Anything short of universal interest in those things that make for that kind of a future destiny is not responsive to the will of the American Jewish Community.

Therefore, the kind of an American Jewish Conference, or whatever name it may be called, truly representative of the American Jewish Community, so circumscribed or so set up as in no way to destroy the many values that have been built up and developed over a period of decades

in the American Jewish Community, but in a position authoritatively to speak for the American Jewish Community and to make its opinion and judgment articulate in respect to vital Jewish problems, has my unreserved support. And I shall recommend it to the B'nai B'rith as a desirable development in Jewish life. [Applause.] I did not make the statement to draw your applause, but I thank you for it. I made the statement because I want every delegate at this Conference to go back as a committee of one, as an enthusiastic ambassador from this Conference to his or her respective community, to tell them that the resolution which was adopted yesterday afternoon was not just phraseology; that we really meant business; that we are going to try—we are going to zealously and energetically try—to bring about the kind of a body that we have been discussing. That was the purpose of that statement. [Applause.]

[A list of nominees for the new Interim Committee, by bloc, was read by MR. KENEN, and the entire list was elected. CHAIRMAN MONSKY made it clear that the Committee may co-opt additional members up to 15. For new Interim Committee, see page 284.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The General Committee, taking note of the valiant services of one of our delegates who is no longer with us, directed that resolutions shall be presented to the plenary session of the Conference. The person that I had in mind was the late Herman Shulman. Is Dr. Eisendrath in the room? Will Jane Evans please read them in Dr. Eisendrath's absence?

MISS EVANS—May I ask the assembly to rise, please.

[The assembly arose.]

Tribute to the Late Herman Shulman

MISS EVANS—"The American Jewish Conference deeply mourns the passing of Herman Shulman on July 23rd. Mr. Shulman of New York was one of the small band of men and women who saw and understood the actual and potential role which a democratically elected representative of the American Jewish Community must play in this crucial period in Jewish life. His boundless energy and enthusiasm, his great gifts of mind and heart were at the disposal of the Conference from its very inception. He was an important member of the Committee of Five which was responsible for the organization of the First Session. He was Vice-Chair-

man of the General Committee and faithfully and skillfully helped guide the Conference through its First and Second Sessions. During 1944 he performed loyal and untiring services as Co-Chairman of the Rescue Commission. More recently he made a tremendous contribution at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, in safeguarding the interests of the Jewish people.

"His loss is deeply felt at this Conference, and his name will long be remembered for blessing in our midst."

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE—Mr. Chairman: In arising to second the resolution, I do so with your permission, ladies and gentlemen, because I think I have the right to say that Mr. Shulman was among the closest and dearest of my friends. We worked together. We dreamed together. We prayed together for our great cause. I know best how selfless and how faithful he was in the performance of every task. He asked nothing for himself. He gave everything to our cause.

And surely you will not misunderstand me if I make mention of the fact that it was along the highway of Zionist loyalty that he entered into the work of the American Jewish Conference. Zionism integrated him who had been slightly remote from Jewish life—integrated him into the fullness of Jewish life, of Jewish dreaming and of Jewish striving. I know, better than most of you could have known, what an utterly fine human being he was; how lofty were his ideals; how selfless his purposes; and, therefore, how blessed was his work.

His untimely passing was and remains a grief and a loss to us. With all my heart, as one of the closest of Herman Shulman's friends, and with a special note of sympathy to his wife who sits among us as a representative of Hadassah and whose two dear sons have served in the Army and the Navy of our country, I claim the privilege of seconding the resolution; of paying the tribute of a deep and unfeigned affection for the person and the memory of Herman Shulman.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The resolution and Dr. Wise's remarks in seconding the resolution will be recorded pursuant to the unanimous vote of this Conference as our tribute of esteem and respect for the memory of Herman Shulman and our gratitude to him for a consecrated life of service in our cause. So ordered.

[The assembly was seated.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Mr. Kenen, is there any other business on the Secretary's table for the attention of this Conference?

MR. KENEN—No, sir.

SAMUEL MARKLE—Mr. Chairman: I want to take a minute or two of the Conference's time on something that I believe is important. During the course of the committee meetings and caucuses, we heard references to the fact that there are 500,000 Jewish servicemen who are returning to the communities from the war. Some of them participated in this organization. One of them was referred to by Rabbi Lookstein in his address this morning. They all happen to have two bars, captains—one a doctor and the other two chaplains. It seems to me, and they have sort of appointed me unofficially as a spokesman, apparently too modest to speak for themselves—they suggested the Interim Committee respectfully take into consideration when it co-opts—

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—May I anticipate what you are going to say?

MR. MARKLE—Yes.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—The General Committee has already taken the matter into consideration. As a matter of fact, it is the intention of the Interim Committee to consider very carefully not only the advisability, but the necessity and the complete propriety of co-opting some one or more representatives of that valiant body of men who gave such great service.

MR. MARKLE—Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted that to be an official part of the record.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—Thank you, Mr. Markle. [Applause.]

It is very gratifying to be able to say to a delegate of this Conference that the Interim Committee or General Committee anticipated his wants.

May I ask Chaplain Plaut—one of the men whom you spoke about a moment ago—to close this Conference with a prayer or benediction.

[CHAPLAIN PLAUT delivered the benediction while the assembly stood.]

CHAIRMAN MONSKY—With gratitude for having had the privilege to serve you, and in the hope that we meet again soon, this Third Session of the American Jewish Conference is now adjourned.

[The assembly sang "Hatikvah," whereupon the Third Session adjourned at 2 p.m.]

COMMITTEES

GENERAL COMMITTEE

The General Committee, consisting of sixty-four members, met six times prior to and during the Third Session, from Friday, February 15th, through Tuesday, February 19th. CHAIRMAN LOUIS LIPSKY ruled that after Committee members had registered, no substitutions should be permitted.

A discussion on the role of the three Co-Chairmen of the Conference in the General Committee ensued. The Chair was of the opinion that they are members ex-officio without voting privilege. When HENRY MONSKY stated that it was his recollection that they had always exercised this right, the Chair maintained that in order to keep the proper balance between the various groups in the Committee, a rule should be adopted enabling the three Co-Chairmen to vote as members of their respective groups.

Tribute was paid to the late Herman Shulman, Vice-Chairman of the General Committee at the last Session, by CHAIRMAN LIPSKY, who proposed that an expression of sympathy be written into the record. MR. MONSKY's suggestion that a resolution of tribute be prepared by the Committee for presentation to the plenary session was adopted.

The Committee retained Mr. Lipsky as Chairman and Maurice Bisgyer as Secretary. Dr. Maurice Eisendrath was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman to fill the vacancy created by the death of Herman Shulman.

Inasmuch as the General Committee serves as the Committee on Rules for the Session, I. L. KENEN read a number of rules recommended by the Executive Committee and confirmed by the Interim Committee at its last meeting. (For final texts, see pages 262-263.) All the rules were adopted as recommended, with one exception. A motion to consolidate the Finance and Organization Committees was tabled, and the committees remained separate.

In a discussion of the agenda of the fifth plenary meeting on Postwar Problems, JANE EVANS objected to the term "postwar," arguing that it had lost all meaning inasmuch as we are now in the postwar era. She asked that some more appropriate expression be substituted. CHAIRMAN LIPSKY favored its continued use until "another more convenient term" be found before the end of the Session, while MRS. DE SOLA POOL felt that the term was not inappropriate in that the report covers last year's activities.

PRAESIDIUM AND SECRETARIAT

A motion was approved to appoint a subcommittee for the purpose of suggesting a praesidium to the General Committee, it being understood that the Co-Chairmen shall be members *ex-officio*. J. GEORGE FREDMAN recommended that the returning servicemen be given representation and that a prominent veteran be added to the praesidium. The CHAIR requested that he place this suggestion before the aforementioned subcommittee, which was also given the task of considering the secretariat as well as the praesidium. It was later agreed to give this group full power to name the officers.

In reply to a comment by LEO H. LOWITZ, CHAIRMAN LIPSKY explained that it is understood that officers of the Conference must be delegates to the Conference. Inasmuch as the committee appointed to name the praesidium and the secretariat was given power to act, MISS EVANS was disturbed by the fact that it was not representative of all groups. However, when RABBI IRVING MILLER explained that the committee must contact every group, MISS EVANS concurred in the arrangement.

Provision was also made for a subcommittee, consisting of nine secretaries to be named by each bloc, to fill vacancies on standing committees of the Session and to set up the committees.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

RABBI MILLER moved that each group within the Conference be asked to name one person to a subcommittee whose function it would be to put into shape all resolutions to be placed before the plenary meetings. The role of this subcommittee in relation to the General Committee was discussed at some length. The discussion revolved around the question of whether the subcommittee should receive resolutions directly from the various committees and submit them to the General Committee for approval after working on them, as advocated by JUDGE HARRY M. FISHER, or whether a resolution should first be presented to the General Committee which would decide on its relevancy and would then pass it on to the subcommittee to be properly drafted. In any event all resolutions would have to be passed on by the General Committee before they could become effective. In discussing resolutions which might originate in the sub-

committee itself, FRANK GOLDMAN was of the opinion that relevancy should always be determined first so that no time be wasted in discussing resolutions which might later be declared irrelevant. The CHAIR ended the discussion by citing the rule which provides that all resolutions intended for subcommittee first be submitted to the General Committee and then passed on to the subcommittee.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The report of the Credentials Committee, which was presented by MR. ROTHSTEIN, was divided into three parts: (1) an account of the number of delegates and alternates attending the Session; (2) the question of disputes and challenges; (3) the admission of new organizations. MR. ROTHSTEIN reported the following breakdown of delegates planning to attend the Third Session: Of those elected at the First Session, 219 indicated their intention of attending the present Session; in addition, of those elected as permanent replacements at the Second Session, 91 were expected at this Session. There were also 96 alternates and 27 new permanent replacements scheduled to come to the Session, making a total of 433 who planned to attend. Of these 433, 73 were organization representatives, 19 organization replacements and 12 organization alternates, totaling 104 organization people; 237 were community delegates, 8 replacements and 84 alternates, making a total of 329 community representatives.

In addition, the following figures were given: Regular delegates who were not coming and had no alternates or replacements numbered 55, and 4 organization representatives were not yet accounted for.

ADMISSION OF NEW ORGANIZATIONS

Three organizations had recently applied for membership in the American Jewish Conference. The Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity was organized on March 31, 1945, at a trade union conference made up of representatives of twenty-five trade union bodies with an estimated membership of 150,000. The organization had supported demonstrations sponsored by the American Jewish Conference, and their representatives had assisted the Conference delegation in San Francisco. MR. MONSKY moved that the matter be referred to a special subcommittee for consideration and recommendation to a subsequent meeting of the General

Committee, questioning "whether an organization that came into existence in 1945 shall be admitted now as a member and affiliate of the Conference in the present situation." The motion to refer was put to a vote and carried. MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN suggested that some of the labor people of the Conference be put on the subcommittee, to which suggestion CHAIRMAN LIPSKY replied that the committee would probably be made up of the groups.

The Federation of Bessarabian Jews of America, a national organization with 42 *Landsmanschaften* comprising about 50,000 Bessarabian Jews, had applied for membership for the second time. Inasmuch as Bessarabia is no longer a part of Rumania, SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN felt that the Federation could now be considered a separate entity and as such recommended its admission. It was decided to refer this matter too to the special committee, as well as the question of the third organization, the Federation of Palestine Jews. [For further discussion, see page 210.]

The Committee next dealt with the problem of communities whose delegates move away without resigning as representatives of those communities. A case in point was that of Daniel Frisch, who was elected by the Community of Indianapolis but has since become a resident of New York City. Word was received that Indianapolis was disturbed by the situation, but the CHAIR ruled that inasmuch as the community had as yet taken no action there was nothing for the Committee to consider. RABBI DAVID SHERMAN, who presented this part of the report, maintained that the general problem will arise in other cases and that therefore a rule should be established. The CHAIR explained "that the Executive Committee agreed that there is nothing before the Executive Committee or the Interim Committee unless an official action is taken by an election committee declaring that a certain person who has moved away does not in their opinion represent the community. Until such a document is before us, there is nothing for us to consider."

DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTION ON FUTURE ORGANIZATION

MRS. POOL objected to the proposal to send the Resolution on Future Organization, which had been adopted by the Interim Committee, to the Organization Committee and insisted that such a critical resolution should first come before the General Committee for discussion. DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN supported this point of view. In accordance with her stand, MRS. POOL moved "that the resolution on organization which was presented and passed at the Interim Committee in its last meeting be read before the General Committee and be opened for discussion before it is passed on to any other committee." The motion was seconded. CHAIRMAN LIPSKY expressed the opinion that the resolution might be read and discussed, even though, in his opinion, the General Committee could not vote on it. MR. MONSKY concurred in the correctness of this procedure from a parliamentary point of view. He felt that "there ought to be an expression so that we will understand each other, and see what differences there are between us. If the Conference can serve any purpose at all beyond this Session," he added, "we must come out of this Conference with greater strength rather than have it torn to pieces by a lot of internecine quarrels. Therefore, I believe, we ought to spend some time here this afternoon, make it a special order of business, and let us get an expression of views as a result of which we might find it possible to get a committee to meet that will come to some conclusion."

RABBI MILLER proposed that the General Committee dispose of its routine business and then convert itself into the Organization Committee "for the purpose of discussing this resolution and acting upon it. Then you bring it to the floor with the weight and the prestige of the General Committee behind it." He was definitely opposed to any discussion by the General Committee which could only result in turning the matter over to the Organization Committee in the end. MRS. HALPRIN felt that since the General Committee represented a cross-section of the country, there was sufficient reason for conducting a preliminary discussion in that Committee, which discussion might serve to "eliminate some of the points of difference." There would then be a line of guidance in accordance with which the Organization Committee might direct its thinking and which would facilitate the discussion. She felt that too much objec-

tion would be raised by delegates were the General Committee to follow Rabbi Miller's suggestion and transform itself into the Organization Committee.

The CHAIR closed this discussion with the statement that it had been "agreed that there should be discussion, leading to no definite decision, for the purpose of mutual exchange of opinion, and for information and clarification of the situation." MRS. POOL's motion to present the resolution to the General Committee was unanimously carried.

The discussion of the resolution itself began with a reading of the text by MR. KENEN.

"There is need for the Conference to continue for the present for the purposes for which it was created, to make representations to the governmental and intergovernmental agencies engaged in establishing the peace and dealing with the problems of the Jewish people in those countries which were affected by the war, and the Interim Committee is authorized to complete these responsibilities of the Conference in this field.

"Inasmuch as the American Jewish Conference was fashioned as a temporary body to perform the functions set forth in the Pittsburgh proposals, it is not the intention nor purpose of the Conference to perpetuate its existence, after the completion of its task as defined in the Pittsburgh proposals.

"It is recognized that there is value and need for a democratic, representative body that can speak authoritatively for the American Jewish community in connection with the safeguarding of the rights of Jewish communities elsewhere, and to that end, and having authorized the Interim Committee to complete the work of the Conference, we empower the Interim Committee to explore the possibility, and by agreement with national agencies affiliated with the Conference, to develop ways and means by which such a body may be brought into being."

A number of speakers vigorously denounced the resolution. ALEX F. STANTON saw in the resolution a threat to the Conference which he feels, and believes many others feel, is just now in its embryonic stage. In his opinion the continuation of the Conference at this particular point is im-

portant because there is a vital need to present some kind of united front to the United States Government and to our non-Jewish neighbors. Were the Conference to dissolve now it might well be said either that the Jews do not know what they want or that they do not possess the strength to fight for what they think is right. Among American Jews too the Conference "has increased in stature" since San Francisco. As proof he cited the Allied Jewish Appeal of Philadelphia which contributed a substantial sum to the Conference this year, whereas in previous years they had refused. According to RABBI DAVID ARONSON, the Conference cannot continue indefinitely because a lapse of three and a half years since the holding of elections has resulted in a diminished interest in the organization. On the other hand, new elections cannot be called because that would give the impression of self-perpetuation, which is outside the scope of the Conference's authority. Inasmuch as a great deal of uncompleted business remains to be done, RABBI ARONSON suggested that the Session authorize the Interim Committee to complete this unfinished business and that in addition it give the Committee a mandate to call a popular referendum of American Jews within the next two years to ascertain whether they want an over-all organization and if so what the scope of such organization shall be. If the referendum favors such a body, elections could be set and the Interim Committee would report its business to the new body and dissolve. He felt that even if the result of a referendum were unfavorable, the Interim Committee would have been given the opportunity to complete its work amidst renewed community interest.

RUBIN SALTZMAN objected to the ambiguity of a resolution which allows two diametrically opposed interpretations to be placed upon it: one that its intent is to continue the existence of the Conference and the other that it is designed to bury the Conference. He proposed the adoption of a simple resolution which would embody in its text: (1) a decision to continue the Conference as an important body expressing the interest of the Jewish people and (2) a call for a Fourth Session of the Conference not later than the beginning of 1947 but earlier if possible. The question of including the American Scene should, he believed, be placed squarely before the Jews of America at the next election. He further advocated that community representation be given a larger proportion over organization representation than under the present set-up.

DR. GOLDSTEIN went on record as having voted for the resolution at the Interim Committee despite the fact that the text was "anything but reassuring," because "the oral discussion indicated that sponsors of the resolution also felt that a permanent Conference would be a good thing" and that "the possibility of including the American Scene within the scope of the permanent Conference . . . was not ruled out . . . if it would be done as a result of negotiations with the interested bodies. As one, therefore, who was very, very eager to see a permanent Conference come into being, I believed that the chances of such a thing happening appeared more favorable at the last meeting of the Interim Committee than at any previous discussion, and therefore felt that it might be advisable to go along with that resolution, provided the resolution was to be understood in the context of the discussion as the future guidance for our consideration." Through subsequent discussion with many people, however, Dr. Goldstein came to the conclusion that such a resolution would destroy the value of the Conference and would be regarded by the public as tantamount to the liquidation of the Conference, thereby weakening its credentials and impairing its authority. He enumerated the alternatives which can be taken: (1) a permanent Conference, which is not within the scope of the present Conference; (2) a Conference of "defined tentativeness" which would diminish the standing of the Conference; and (3) "undefined continuity" which would require no resolution at all, because it means continuation of the status quo, setting of a time for the next Session and the continued functioning of the Interim Committee on that basis.

MR. LOWITZ described the resolution as "irresponsible and very impertinent." He cited as an example the inference that the Interim Committee will carry on the work of the Conference without being called upon to report back to the Conference. Even more impertinent, he said, was the third paragraph, which states that there is need for "a democratic, representative body that can speak authoritatively for the American Jewish Community in connection with safeguarding the rights of Jewish communities elsewhere." To say to Jews elsewhere that their interests must be protected by American Jews indicates a condescending "rich uncle" attitude and implies that the American Jewish Community

regards itself as completely free of any problems of its own. M. MORTON RUBENSTEIN pointed out inconsistencies in the resolution which made him believe there was something more behind it than appears on the surface.

MR. ROTHSTEIN stressed the fact that the resolution had not been approved by the Interim Committee in order to be submitted to the Conference, but had been adopted for submission to the Organization Committee. He urged that the resolution which would "bar this Conference from continuing permanently" should not be adopted. "We have a fine organization," he said, "which has done some excellent work . . . you should be proud that you have been serving on an organization such as this. Why go through the lost motion of calling a new meeting to organize all over again when we are organized?" He then suggested that the following two "constructive steps" be taken: (1) that a mandate calling for new elections be issued; and (2) that a constitution be adopted which will protect minority rights.

HERMANN STERN argued against the dissolution of the Conference, saying that "we, the Jews of America, cannot let it be said that once we have created a body representing the masses of American Jewry, we have given it up in despair after two years of existence because the smaller interests within this great organization could not be big enough to see and accept the larger view." He felt that the responsibility to carry on as a united front was much greater than the responsibility individual representatives of organizations within the Conference might have towards their particular organizations. Moreover, no delegate present at the Session could think that the Conference of the future would attempt to undertake the functions of an organization operating in a particular field, as, for example, the Joint Distribution Committee. He cited the type of cooperation which has been in effect between the Conference and the American Zionist Emergency Council. MR. STERN also suggested that the resolution refer to the interests of Jews everywhere rather than only to Jews overseas.

Although aware of the difficult position in which certain national leaders are placed, EZRA SHAPIRO felt that "the attitudes and desires of the delegates to this assembly, the people, the Jews and the communities of the country" should not be completely disregarded. He firmly believed

that the Jews of America would like to see this Conference serve as the over-all body which would consider all problems relating to Jews, including the American Scene. If, however, the feeling that the scope of the Conference should be enlarged is not found to be a general one, no resolution should be passed. The Conference would then continue as it is, and this Session should instruct the Interim Committee to call elections for the next Session. MR. SHAPIRO himself was of the opinion that within the present terms of reference the American Scene cannot be included, but he suggested that this question be submitted in referendum to the country, not to the delegates. This would absolve the national leaders who helped bring the Conference into existence from any accusation of having transcended their prerogatives.

JUDGE FISHER declared that "any suggestion that this representative body is not going to continue until after the next (American) election in 1948 would be destroying an asset which is invaluable to us in all the things that we hope to achieve, but cannot achieve without the support of the government." He cited as an example of what can be accomplished the incorporation of the Palestine Resolution in the Democratic Platform after the Zionists had pointed out that they were speaking for two and a half million people. He opposed the idea of forcing the American Scene on organizations which are antagonistic to it because he felt that "we cannot afford to lose them, even if their being with us is only for the purpose of manifesting our strength. If anything, I think we ought to do everything possible to get more organizations into this body, but above all we must recognize that this is not the time to give the impression that our work in the main is done, that it can be continued by an Interim Committee, and that we are gradually going out of existence."

MR. MONSKY was eager to put himself on record as favoring the continuation of the Conference for one year, or ten years if need be, in order to accomplish the purposes for which it was called into being. He believes the Conference has accomplished much in its field but still has a great contribution to make. He declared, however: "I am opposed to the Conference undertaking to do things that were not comprehended in the original Pittsburgh proposals because the task that it has set before us under the Pittsburgh proposals is a task that it can afford to concentrate all of its efforts and all of its energies upon." He placed upon the leader-

ship the responsibility for holding the delegates to the tasks for which the Conference had been created, saying that much agitation for "turning this Conference into a different instrument than was contemplated" was stimulated "from the top." He asked that "we determine here and now that the Conference was called into being to perform services within a certain prescribed area, and heavens knows it is a tremendous problem and we have only scratched the surface and there is much yet to do." The Pittsburgh proposals called for two things: (1) concern with the post-war status of the Jews and implementation of the rights of Palestine; and (2) election of a delegation to carry out the verdict. This was a definite emergency measure and had there been such a delegation (to represent us at the Peace Conference) it probably would have included agencies which have since withdrawn but would not have done so had they been represented on such a delegation. The Conference, however, was turned into something other than was contemplated and much of the agitation came from the top. The Conference cannot be made a permanent body because it never was intended that it should be a permanent body; it is an emergency body, but the emergency may continue for ten years. He agreed that it is important not to give an impression that the Conference is going to liquidate soon. He was in accord with the concept of the resolution, even if not with the exact terminology.

MR. MONSKY pointed out that the third paragraph represents a concession, inasmuch as it authorizes the Interim Committee "to go clear beyond the original scope of the Conference and to explore the possibilities" of bringing a democratic, representative body into being. He defended use of the term "safeguarding the rights of the Jewish communities elsewhere" on the ground that as a representative of a national agency he cannot allow the scope of the Conference to be extended. Several times DR. SILVER interjected the idea that what is being discussed is not the scope of this Conference but the possibility of a new Conference.

MR. MONSKY stated that he visualized the possibility of a Conference consisting of two to three hundred delegates and based on representation from the sixty-four organizations now in the Conference plus others that might come in, the community councils and possibly the federations properly weighted. This would represent a cross-section of America and there might well be no need for elections or referendums. He objected to

a referendum because it would put his organization and other national organizations in a position where they would have to vote and where they might be forced to oppose the majority opinion. This he wanted to avoid because, as he said, "I am willing to go contrary to the stream when something is being done that I think is not right, but I cannot walk out on a stream of public opinion that expresses itself under machinery that I helped set up. . . . When there is a verdict given by the American Jewish Community under machinery that I participate in setting up, then I am morally bound to stand by that verdict and you must not put me in that spot. I want it to be a matter of agreement between us that is perfectly clear. That is my position."

LEIB GLANTZ disagreed with Mr. Monsky on the desirability of basing the new Conference on representation from federations "which are not elected democratically." Some community councils also come under this heading, he asserted. Although he had been in favor of enlarging the scope of the Conference at the Second Session, he said that he now feels the appropriate time for such a step has passed. He called upon the Session to discontinue the struggle for enlargement of the scope. He asked that he be put on record as having suggested that the Conference be organized on a local or regional basis, with field directors, in order to bring the "fine work" of the Conference to the attention of the public. MR. GLANTZ took exception to the idea that the delegates might be perpetuating themselves if the Conference continued. He was not unfavorable to new elections, saying that if they could be held before the Fourth Session, the Interim Committee could be so advised, but in the event that elections do not prove feasible, the Interim Committee should not be bound by any such commitments. If problems arise which necessitate an extra session during the year, it could be called, but the reason for such a session should be publicized. In conclusion, he asked that the resolution either be tabled or cancelled out (this suggestion was greeted by applause), and that a sub-committee be appointed to work out a resolution in the spirit of that day's discussion.

MAX A. KOPSTEIN took exception to Mr. Monsky's criticism of Jewish leaders for arousing the people in favor of including the American Scene. He contended (1) that responsible leadership must recognize the opinion

of the mass membership and (2) that the overwhelming opinion of American Jewry today and of the mass membership of all organizations is in favor of an over-all democratic organization in American life, an organization which should embrace both the American and the European Scenes. To bring such an organization into being was, in MR. KOPSTEIN's opinion, within the power of the present Conference. But should it prove to be beyond the power of the Conference, he believed that some other such organization should be created and the Conference as it now operates should not be continued throughout the emergency period, which may last for many years. The new organization should be set up on a democratic basis, through the calling of new elections to be held every two years. The new organization need not be called permanent, but should be of indefinite duration. The question of the inclusion of the American Scene should be referred directly to the people and not through the national organizations and community councils, although they might well be represented in the organization. He then offered two alternate suggestions, either of which he thought the Session should carry out, although he himself favored the first. They were: (1) to decide to have an American Jewish Conference which will be neither of an emergency nor of a temporary nature and to agree to hold elections and go to the electorate with the question of including the American Scene; or (2) to declare that the present Conference was set up for a short emergency period, that there should be one more Session and no new elections, and that the Conference should then be terminated.

RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER considered that interest in the American Scene stems from the "grassroots" as well as from the top. Although he agreed with Judge Fisher that American Jewish life is over-organized to the point of being disorganized, he does not believe that we in this country are ripe for an American Jewish UNO. He suggested that in considering a new American Jewish Conference we should not bring in the national Jewish organizations, but should go rather to the people, using as our means of reaching them the Jewish community councils, for example, or local Jewish committees. The new organization should, in RABBI BRICKNER's opinion, take the form of an American Jewish Forum which would serve to clarify confused Jewish public opinion. The national organiza-

tions would continue to function in their respective fields, but they would have an opportunity to hear from "the total American Jewish Community assembled once a year how American Jews feel . . . it would have a very wholesome effect upon the national organizations and lead, in time, to entry into such a body." An Executive Committee would serve as the mouthpiece of this Forum before the governments.

JUDGE FISHER moved that a special committee be appointed for the purpose of preparing, on the basis of the foregoing discussion, a resolution embodying the sentiment expressed in the General Committee, this resolution to be submitted to the Organization Committee. MR. SHAPIRO suggested that when the special committee had finished its deliberations, the resultant report should be brought back to the General Committee before going on to the Organization Committee. This suggestion was approved. Because of objection to the fact that, contrary to agreement at the beginning of the discussion, some action was being taken by the appointment of the special committee, JUDGE FISHER changed his motion to provide for an informal body to be appointed by the Chair. At this point MR. MONSKY indicated that the record might show "that Judge Fisher suggested to the Chair that he endeavor to bring together the leadership in the Conference, individuals in the Conference to consider this entire subject matter in hope that they may be able to formulate another resolution embodying the thoughts that were expressed this afternoon to the Organization Committee." MR. ROTHSTEIN pointed out that action on this matter was not out of order as prior to the discussion it had been decided that the heads of the groups would be called together and that they would act. The CHAIR agreed with this explanation.

REPORT OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON RESOLUTION ON FUTURE ORGANIZATION

Following the foregoing discussion on future organization in General Committee, a luncheon meeting was held by the informal committee referred to above. The participants were Mr. Lipsky, Rabbi Miller, Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Eisendrath, Messrs. Kramer, Monsky and Kenen. In reporting back to the General Committee, MR. MONSKY presented a resolution which was an attempt to summarize the "areas of agreement" between the members of the informal group. The resolution read as follows with parenthetical alternatives by Mr. Monsky:

"The delegates to the Third Session of the American Jewish Conference, having received reports on the work which has been carried on by its Interim bodies in the implementation of the decisions of the American Jewish Conference, authorize and direct,"

(or we can say simply 'direct')

"the Interim Committee which will be elected at this Session to continue and intensify the work of the Conference in the accomplishment of the objectives of the Pittsburgh proposals, namely,

"(a) action on problems relating to rights and status of Jews in the postwar world; and

"(b) action upon matters looking to the implementation of the right of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

"The Interim Committee is authorized to,"

(or more mandatory)

"The Interim Committee shall call a Fourth Session of the Conference at such time and place as it deems advisable but not later than fifteen months from the date of this Session.

"In view of the fact that there are a number of vacancies in the delegate roster, the Interim Committee is authorized to,"

('authorized' is the way we had it; that was our discussion, and Judge Fisher suggests we substitute the word 'shall')

"the Interim Committee shall determine procedure for the filling of such vacancies,"

(and I think you inserted 'and implement same')

"implement the procedure,"

(is what you mean—I am sure the informal committee will accept that)

"to insure authorized representation of the communities affected."

Next came the paragraph with respect to the future body which, Mr. Monksy believed, should be made a separate resolution and not coupled with the foregoing, for reasons that he said he would later explain:

"The experience of this Conference confirms the conviction that there is value in and need for a democratic representative body that can speak authoritatively for the American Jewish Community in the areas covered by the Pittsburgh proposals, and since this Conference was not designed

to be a permanent body, the Interim Committee is empowered to explore the possibility of establishing such a permanent, democratic, representative body, and after consultation with, and by agreement with the national agencies and representative community leaders, to develop ways and means by which such a body may be brought into being."

Inasmuch as it could be assumed that the first three paragraphs were more or less acceptable to everyone, MR. MONSKY suggested that they should constitute one resolution and the controversial fourth paragraph a separate one. MR. LIPSKY, however, felt that the resolution should be taken as a whole, that some people would not want to vote on the question of elections unless the last paragraph were made a part of the text.

DR. GOLDSTEIN objected to the limiting phrase "in the areas covered by the Pittsburgh proposals" on the ground that it failed to reflect the discussion which took place in the General Committee. He asked that these words be eliminated as not having come up in the discussion. RABBI MILLER associated himself with Dr. Goldstein on this point, whereupon MR. MONSKY offered to withdraw the report, saying that some of those who had participated in the informal discussion did not feel that this report represented a true summary of the discussion. His suggestion that they retire and try to get together on it was approved by the CHAIR. RABBI MILLER objected to a division of the resolution because he felt that the discussion had revolved around a unified picture. He had, for example, changed his mind about elections for the Fourth Session, and even though he had previously insisted upon such elections, when it developed that an attempt might be made to create a permanent body, he had withdrawn his suggestion. In his opinion, therefore, the one part of the resolution is entirely dependent upon the other. CHAIRMAN LIPSKY reminded the meeting that MR. MONSKY had withdrawn his report and that it was proposed to send it back to the subcommittee for further discussion and agreement.

The informal committee met again and drew up another report. When it was reported back to General Committee, RABBI MILLER moved that the new resolution formulated by this informal committee be substituted for the Interim Committee resolution, declared relevant, and referred to the Organization Committee. In reply to a question by MR. STANTON, CHAIRMAN LIPSKY stated that the General Committee had declared the

American Scene out of order, whereupon ARNOLD R. GINSBURG questioned the meaning of the last sentence in the resolution which directs the Interim Committee to explore the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative Jewish body through agreement with the existing national agencies as to the nature and scope of the organization. CHAIRMAN LIPSKY interpreted it as meaning that with unanimous consent the scope could be changed. MRS. HALPRIN suggested as an amendment to the motion that this resolution too be divided into two parts and that the last paragraph constitute a separate resolution. This, she felt, would facilitate the holding of a Fourth Session and the continuation of the present Conference should the exploration fail to produce results, because one part would not fall or stand by the other. MR. KRAMER offered to amend the motion in such way as to embody Mrs. Halprin's suggestion. RABBI MILLER countered that a motion to refer can have no amendment and that were either Mrs. Halprin or Mr. Kramer to press their point he would be impelled to argue against it. That would involve a discussion on the resolution which he believed out of order at the moment. The CHAIR summarized the treatment accorded the resolution and its present status as follows: "There is an informal committee that was born in the meetings and it brought in a substitute for a motion that was supposed, in our view, to emanate from the Interim Committee and was on its way to the Organization Committee. We intercepted the Interim Committee's motion and held it up for a discussion.

"Out of that discussion arose a suggestion that an informal committee should be called together to consider it. This informal body met and drafted this resolution which was satisfactory to all parties concerned.

"Now what we are doing is to take that resolution and pass it through to the Organization Committee. In the passage we wanted to avoid infringing upon the prerogatives and rights of the Organization Committee."

MR. MONSKY agreed with the Chair that any changes to be made in the resolution should be discussed by the Organization Committee and that therefore it should not go to the Organization Committee on a motion to refer. If it were to pass through the General Committee on a formal motion, he would want to submit it to his group and others would want

to do likewise. RABBI MILLER said that he felt it should be passed on like every other resolution, only for relevancy, whereupon MR. MONSKY moved to defer consideration of the resolution until he should have had time to discuss it with his group and until, as RABBI MILLER added, all the other groups could also discuss it.

[A recess was then called.]

The Resolution on Future Organization was passed on to the Organization Committee after the General Committee reconvened and it was learned that approval of the resolution had been secured.

ADMISSION OF NEW ORGANIZATIONS (continued)

The next item on the agenda was the question of the admission of two new organizations into the Conference: the Federation of Bessarabian Jews and the Federation of Palestine Jews. (For previous discussion of question, see page 195.) Inasmuch as the subcommittee of the General Committee which was supposed to consider this question had difficulty in getting together, the General Committee proceeded to discuss the matter. MR. GLANTZ asked whether a rule, which had been in effect at the First and Second Sessions, that only organizations in existence before Pearl Harbor could be admitted to the Conference was still operative. The CHAIR and MR. KENEN explained that no such rule exists and that furthermore it would not be applicable to the cases under discussion. MR. KENEN proceeded to give some background on the Bessarabian Federation which, he explained, had applied for admission before the First Session and had been denied admission on the ground that Bessarabia was then part of Rumania, and the Rumanian Jews of America were represented in the Conference. As Bessarabia was no longer part of Rumania, the subcommittee of the Executive Committee in New York recommended before the Third Session that the organization be admitted with one delegate. Objections were presented by RABBI MAX NUSSBAUM and MAX BRESSLER. RABBI NUSSBAUM feared that if the Jews from Bessarabia, which is no longer a country but a region, are admitted, those from other regions will also want to be recognized. He felt that if UNO recognizes this territory as part of the USSR, the Conference cannot "make it an independent state."

The argument against admission which MR. BRESSLER presented was two-fold: (1) inasmuch as the organization has a limited purpose, the sending of relief to the region (and that not on an exclusively Jewish basis), if it is admitted into the Conference other relief organizations will apply for membership; and (2) "The American Jewish Conference is trying to solidify the Jewish people of America" and "by admitting these various groups independently, you will be fragmentizing Jewish life in America on a lower level."

MR. SALTZMAN favored admission, citing the fact that the Galician Jews are a part of the Conference and that inasmuch as Galicia is also a part of the Soviet Union, the case of the Bessarabian Jews is no different. MR. ARONOWITZ felt that if the organization under discussion represents a segment of Jewry not already represented in the Conference it should be admitted. The motion to admit was passed by a vote of 15 to 10.

The second organization to be considered was the Federation of Palestine Jews, which had applied for admission a year before. At that time the Interim Committee voted it down. The organization applied again about two or three weeks prior to the Third Session. MR. ROTHSTEIN reported that a subcommittee appointed by the Interim Committee had recommended to the General Committee before the Session that the organization be admitted, but that since that time some of the members of the Committee had changed their minds. ELIAS A. MOINSTER, the treasurer of the organization, who was present at the Session, was called upon. He reported that the organization had been formed in 1929 and consists now of about twenty chapters throughout the country, covering about fifteen states. Its total membership is 3,500. The organization helps Palestinian Jews in this country, and it sent seventy-five families to Palestine in the last several years, which type of activity constitutes its main task. A motion to admit the organization was approved, with the understanding that it be entitled to one delegate.

DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTION ON FUTURE ORGANIZATION (continued)

MR. MONSKY was eager to avoid controversy on the floor of the plenum as it might well "militate against the possibility of ever getting an agreement for the new Conference." He urged that the question of relevancy of elections first be thrashed out in General Committee, viewing it as a potential threat to the adoption of the Resolution on Future Organization and to the eventual establishment of a new Conference. DR. WISE suggested that he (Dr. Wise) and Mr. Monsky, who represent different points of view as regards relevancy of elections, should go to the Organization Committee and try to save the resolution. MR. SHAPIRO agreed with Dr. Wise's suggestion in view of the fact that he had just been told that the Organization Committee was working havoc with the resolution.

At this point the CHAIR questioned the right of members of the blocs in General Committee to vote against a measure previously agreed upon by their groups. MR. STANTON objected to this statement of the Chair, saying that the delegates elected by their communities have a responsibility to their communities and that their membership in blocs is "merely incidental to their election as members of the community." SAMUEL ARONOWITZ voiced the same objection. MR. MONSKY's statement that the resolution had been finally agreed upon by the "representative groups" was challenged by ARNOLD GINSBURG who cited the fact that not one of his group, the Independent bloc, had been in on the informal meeting which drafted the text, and that therefore his bloc could not be bound by the terms of the resolution, and that as a matter of fact "initiative in attacking the resolution was being taken by the members of the Independent group in the Organization Committee." MR. MONSKY explained that he had not meant to imply that the Independent bloc was represented, as it had not been. On a point of order, MR. GLANTZ challenged the right of the General Committee to refer a resolution "of such scope" without first discussing it and coming to a decision officially. The CHAIR ruled that his point of order was not well taken and went on to summarize the proceedings: The matter had been discussed by the General Committee at an all-day session, even though technically it had been decided that it was not before that Committee unless a question of relevancy arose. It was then agreed that an informal group should meet and formulate a text. When this was

done, the resultant statement was presented to the General Committee and gave rise to a great deal of discussion. It was therefore sent back to the informal group to which a few new persons had been added. An agreement was reached which was submitted to the various groups "and was approved by what we regard the substantial majority of the Conference," whereupon it was reported to the General Committee meeting that "substantial agreement of the substantial groups" had been reached. It was then decided to send the resolution on to the Organization Committee. Inasmuch as there was no issue of relevancy, the General Committee had followed proper procedure in sending it on. But now the Organization Committee, composed of representatives who gave their agreement, was working havoc with the resolution. MR. MONSKY requested that if the Organization Committee should amend it "to the extent of bringing in a resolution for general elections," the resolution should then come before the General Committee for consideration as to relevancy. The CHAIR assented.

It was decided that the Post-War Committee be asked to submit its report to the General Committee, which proceeded to appoint a special committee to deal with it. This subcommittee was composed of the Chairman of the General Committee, Simon E. Sobeloff and Mr. Bisgyer.

CO-OPTIONS TO INTERIM COMMITTEE

In discussing the question of co-options to the Interim Committee, it was observed that the rule adopted at the Second Session* was designed to give greater representation to communities outside of New York City. Last year, however, the national organizations accounted for nine or ten out of the fifteen persons to be co-opted, so that the original intention was not realized. MR. MONSKY explained by way of further clarification that co-options are made "upon the suggestion of the members of the Interim Committee, which means the suggestions of the groups." Upon the proposal of JOSEPH BARR, it was agreed that place among the co-opted members be reserved for returned veterans, some of whom were at the Session as delegates.

* See *Proceedings of Second Session*, p. 321.

QUESTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL STATEMENTS

The American Jewish Congress wanted to make a statement regarding its stand on general elections; the Labor group had a statement to make and DR. EISENDRATH said that he would like to make a statement on the Union of American Hebrew Congregations' abstention from voting on the Palestine Resolution. A discussion ensued as to whether these groups and others, if they so wished, should make their statements. The suggestion was made that it might be advisable to withhold all statements contemplated by the organizations "in consideration," as the CHAIR put it, "of the mood that prevailed at the meeting, and the general feeling of good will that has been created." DR. WISE proposed that they all refrain from making their statements for the good of the cause and DR. EISENDRATH offered the suggestion that the Conference *Record* of the Session carry the statements made to the General Committee by the Congress and the Union. The salutary effect of the resolution might well be "whittled down by a lot of statements and resolutions suggesting that there is some dissatisfaction with the results obtained," according to MR. MONSKY. This point of view was disputed by RABBI NUSSBAUM, who took the position that the Congress statement, for example, despite everything, would actually serve to strengthen the impression of unity within and of allegiance to the Conference and to the resolution. The same opinion was voiced by DR. PETEGORSKY. Whereas MR. MONSKY wanted the statements made a part of the record only, he (DR. PETEGORSKY) wished to have the Congress statement made on the floor of the plenum, convinced that "all our statement is intended to do is to say that we support this resolution completely and whole-heartedly, and will subordinate every conceivable kind of organizational consideration and status and prestige to bring about the end that the resolution sought." It was pointed out that according to Conference tradition, after a vote has been taken on any important question, a statement may be made in explanation of this vote by the parties concerned. The CHAIR, however, eager not to detract from the strength of the impression made by the resolution, thought it would be unwise to take advantage of the custom at this point. Others who spoke against statements were JANE EVANS and DAVID WERTHEIM of the Labor Zionist group. MR. WERTHEIM declared that if other groups issued statements his group would feel

obliged to do the same. DR. WISE moved that groups desiring to make statements should be permitted to present them for the record. A substitute motion was offered by MR. STANTON to the effect that all statements be eliminated and MR. BISGYER seconded the motion. It was generally agreed that no statements on the matter should be made on the floor but it was understood this was in no way to affect the customary right to make statements.

On behalf of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, DR. EISENDRATH requested that the record specifically show that the representatives of that organization and its affiliates had refrained from voting on the Palestine Resolution. It was agreed that the record of the General Committee should record this fact. MRS. ALBERT J. MAY asked that the National Council of Jewish Women be likewise recorded until she should have had the opportunity to return to her Executive Committee and ascertain whether the particular resolution under discussion comes within the frame of policy of her organization. The Jewish Peoples' Fraternal Order also went on record as having abstained from voting on the Palestine Resolution.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

The Committee on Organization, consisting of ninety members, met on Sunday afternoon, February 17th, and on Monday morning, February 19th.

Selection of officers, which was the first item on the agenda, resulted in the unanimous election of Mortimer May as Chairman, Congressman Herman P. Koppelman and Sigmund Livingston as Vice-Chairmen, and Mrs. Harry Berkman as Secretary.

FUNCTION OF COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN advised the Committee that the resolution on the future of the Conference had been discussed at length by the General Committee and by a subcommittee, as well as by various bloc caucuses. He suggested that the Organization Committee wait for the resolution to be referred to it. A statement by NATHAN BRODSKY to the effect that until that resolution came before the Organization Committee it would have no business to transact created a discussion on the extent of the Committee's authority. SIGMUND W. DAVID objected to the idea of relegating its work to the passing of a resolution handed to it by another committee. SEYMOUR R. LEVINE argued that each committee was vested with the authority to initiate resolutions, and to bear out his point he cited a rule established in previous years. The only limitation was the stipulation that before any resolution could be adopted by the Committee it had first to be cleared for relevancy through the General Committee.

MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL moved that a subcommittee be appointed to work out an agenda for the following two days' meetings of the Organization Committee. Her motion was put to a vote and carried. However, no agenda was prepared because the subcommittee finally decided that the resolution on future organization constituted the sole work of the Organization Committee.

DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTION ON FUTURE ORGANIZATION

The resolution on future organization was read by CHAIRMAN MAY. (For text, as finally adopted, see pages 231-232.) THEODORE STRIMLING asserted that the confidence of the communities in the Conference can be restored only if the Fourth Session be preceded by new elections. Factors in this issue are the return of half a million veterans who wish to participate in Jewish life and the democratization of the election procedure, which, he believes, the cumulative voting system excludes. A plea for greater democratization of the Conference was also made by RABBI DAVID W. PEARLMAN who argued that community representatives at the Sessions feel "that they are in a sense completely submerged by the great work and the leadership of the national organizations" and do not seem to have an independent voice under the present set-up. The disproportionate financial support given to the Conference by the communities over that given by the organizations should particularly serve to point up the need for some sort of reorganization which would permit the community delegates to have adequate representation. MRS. ROBERT ARONSON moved that at one of its meetings the Organization Committee should discuss a possible procedure for democratizing the proceedings of the Fourth Session. SAMUEL MARKLE objected to placing the Committee on record as wanting to democratize the Conference, arguing that it would only reflect on the representative character of the organization heretofore and that it would "definitely be used against anybody who appears for the American Jewish Conference at a peace table, or in going to Washington, to the Senate, or doing anything else." AARON RICKE took a similar stand. The motion was defeated and stricken from the record.

The Committee proceeded to consider the resolution on future organization at great length. MRS. HUGO BLOOMFIELD moved that the resolution be divided into two parts—the first three paragraphs to constitute one resolution and the fourth paragraph another. MRS. POOL suggested an amendment to the motion which would allow each paragraph to be considered separately and voted on in seriatim. This motion was carried. Following the reading of the first paragraph, MRS. POOL called attention to the last phrase which directs the Interim Committee to "intensify the work of the Conference within the purposes defined in the Pittsburgh

proposals." She suggested the need of rewording the paragraph in order to avoid placing restrictions upon the present purposes of the Conference. The question of adoption of this paragraph was put to a vote and passed, with the understanding that adoption or rejection of each paragraph in seriatim would not preclude a vote on the resolution as a whole.

MR. STRIMLING asked that a general election be held before the next Session. His stand was supported by MR. DAVID, who offered an amendment reading: "The Interim Committee shall call a Fourth Session of the Conference at such time and place as it deems advisable, but not later than fifteen months from the date of this Session, which shall be preceded by an election of new delegates to the Fourth Session of the Conference." Others who spoke in favor of elections were RABBI STANLEY RABINOWITZ, MILLY BRANDT and HERZL ROSENSON. MISS BRANDT expressed the "hope that the groups which have withdrawn from us will perhaps come back within our fold if we have another election on a wide democratic basis." MR. ROSENSON informed the Committee that the Religious National Orthodox bloc favored the amendment, particularly as new elections might stimulate the dwindling interest of the less easterly communities in the Conference. DR. SAUL SOKAL, SAMUEL SIEVERS and MR. MARKLE opposed the amendment, the latter arguing that new elections would undermine the prestige of the Interim Committee in the event that new groups should come into control. MR. RICHE opposed new elections out of fear that they might create the impression that the present Conference is trying to convert itself into a permanent organization rather than to form, when the time comes, an entirely new body. Elections would become superfluous if the Conference were to terminate soon, for the next Session would then become the last. MRS. POOL said she opposed the amendment for all the reasons already given plus the fact that experience has shown that many improvements could be introduced into the electoral system but that these improvements could only be made operative in the new body. The amendment to hold new elections was rejected.

RABBI LOUIS J. SWICKOW presented an amendment to the second paragraph providing for a Fourth Session to be held not later than December 31, 1946. Among other reasons, he cited the need to revive the waning interest of the communities in the Conference and the need to spur the Interim Committee to action. The amendment was defeated. The second

paragraph was adopted as written. The third paragraph was presented and the word "authority" substituted for "mandate" through adoption of a motion to that effect.

When the fourth paragraph was read, ISIDOR TEITELBAUM proposed that the phrase "and act" be included in the first sentence so that in its amended form it would read: "It is recognized that there is a widespread demand for an American Jewish organization competent to speak 'and act' authoritatively for the Jewish community." MR. SIEVERS urged that it be adopted as written because it represented an acceptable compromise. Also arguing for adoption of the resolution, DR. MAURICE N. EISENDRATH said that "by continuous battling, all reservations and qualifications regarding the scope which the committee to explore may undertake have been deleted." Therefore, the preamble need not contain the phrase 'and act' because the language of the resolution places no limitations on the committee appointed to explore the possibilities of setting up such an organization. MR. TEITELBAUM's amendment was defeated. MR. DAVID criticized the resolution as being far too innocuous and suggested amending it in such way as to commit the new organization "to deal with the protection of Jewish rights here and abroad, the rescue and rehabilitation of Jews in Palestine . . ." MR. LEVINE objected to this motion because of his feeling that it went "beyond the scope and the authority of this Organization Committee and beyond the scope and authority of the American Jewish Conference as it has been designed." The CHAIR ruled this amendment out of order "based upon the prerogatives of this Committee" and as not being "within the purview of the original call." The ruling of the Chair was sustained.

BERTHA SCHWARTZ moved that the first three paragraphs, on which there was apparent unanimous agreement, should constitute one resolution and the fourth, another. The Chair ruled her motion out of order. The assembly voted to adopt the fourth paragraph.

There was protracted discussion on the question of adopting the resolution as a whole. It was agreed that editorial changes be made, particularly in the first paragraph, and a special committee was duly appointed for this purpose, consisting of MRS. POOL as Chairman and MESSRS. LEVINE, MARKLE and LOUIS I. GILGOR.

DEBATE ON NEW ELECTIONS

Although Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Goldstein and Henry Monsky were present in an unofficial capacity, they were given the privilege of presenting their views on the subject under discussion. DR. WISE spoke in the name of the American Jewish Congress, "a body which, in a sense, has far more at stake than any other large organization within the American Jewish Conference." On behalf of the Congress he proposed an amendment to the resolution (which he did not attempt to couch in exact language) providing that after the words "and subject to such agreement, to propose ways and means for bringing such a body into existence" the following be added: "It being understood that in the event of no such agreement being reached the Fourth shall be the final Session of the American Jewish Conference." If, however, such agreement is reached, "in consultation with representative community organizations, an election shall be held of delegates from the American Jewish Community to that Session, out of which is to be born the permanent American Jewish Conference." In the process of further explaining his stand, DR. WISE stated that if a substantial measure of agreement be reached, the Interim Committee shall be empowered and authorized to say to American Jewry: "... the American Jewish Conference that was is now to be superseded. We call for an election, after nearly five years, of delegates to the permanent American Jewish Conference which is to be organized." DR. WISE, speaking ex-officio, offered this as an amendment through RABBI PEARLMAN, a member of the Organization Committee.

DR. GOLDSTEIN took exception to Dr. Wise's remarks, asserting that "to speak now of holding an election for the permanent Conference is to speak of ways and means for implementing the agreement which may be arrived at, and therefore we ourselves have just decided that that is out of order. The only province of the Interim Committee is to explore the possibilities of such an agreement and not to propose ways and means." Moreover, he claimed that it would be necessary to liquidate the Conference should a permanent body not come into being, because "the assumption is that the present Conference goes on as long as there is a need for it in the light of the emergency situation abroad."

MR. MONSKY indicated that in the informal discussions which preceded the formulation of the resolution, the question of elections was raised. It was considered wiser not to hold a general election for the present Conference—"wholly apart from (considerations of) its relevancy or propriety"—if a new conference is to be negotiated in good faith. The provision for agreement with the national organizations as to the nature and scope of the new body was designed to eliminate any objections on the part of said organizations that the authority or mandate of the present Conference had been violated by committing them to a new organization the nature and scope of which are defined beforehand. A directive calling for general elections would nullify the non-restrictive character of the resolutions by giving a direction that creates the nature of it in advance. MR. MONSKY urged: "Don't utilize this Conference, or any vote of this Conference, to issue a mandate as to the nature of the new Conference because it will cause a breakdown of your negotiations." ALEX F. STANTON of the Independent bloc, also speaking ex-officio, voiced the hope that this American Jewish Conference will become permanent, but in the event that no agreement as to a new organization is reached, he suggested that a paragraph be added which would provide for elections for the Fourth Session. As to the question of relevancy of elections, he said: "It was never contemplated at Pittsburgh, and no one even mentioned that there wouldn't be any new elections while this Conference was going on." He made it clear that he was speaking for himself and not for his bloc, which is "much more fiery than I am."

The CHAIR ruled that the amendment proposed by Dr. Wise through Rabbi Pearlman was outside the terms of reference of the original call of the Conference and therefore out of order. The CHAIR later reversed this decision. Quoting from the *Proceedings of the Second Session*, page 183, NATHANIEL GREENBAUM sought to show that nothing which had happened in the Organization Committee meetings at the First or Second Sessions would rule out recommendations by that Committee to the plenary session or action on the part of the plenary meeting with regard to elections.

The report of the Organization Committee at the Second Session contains the following provision (see page 183 of the *Proceedings of the Second Session*): "The Interim Committee shall appoint a special com-

mittee to study the structure and organization of the Conference and to submit a report and recommendations thereon to the Third Session.

"Joseph Cohen (then) asked whether there would be new elections of delegates to the Third Session, and if so, who would determine the manner of such elections.

"Mr. Greenbaum explained that the Organization Committee, by a vote of over 40 to 2, decided against holding elections prior to the Third Session. However, the special committee which will study the organization of the Conference may make its recommendations to the Third Session concerning elections as well as other matters."

DR. DAVID PETEGORSKY of the Congress group attempted to clear up the entire question of elections by quoting the text of a suggestion adopted by a Congress caucus which reads as follows: "If by the time the summons to the Fourth Session is issued an agreement as to the means for creating the new organization has been reached, no elections for that Session will be necessary. If, however, no agreement has been reached as to the creation of the new organization by the time the summons to the Fourth Session is issued, new elections shall be held for the Fourth Session." He stated that Dr. Wise's motion had been misinterpreted "somewhere in the process of transmission through Dr. Wise and through the gentleman who so kindly seconded his resolution."

The Committee decided to table Rabbi Pearlman's motion by a vote of 36 to 16.

The Committee next voted on the adoption of the resolution as a whole, with the understanding that the first paragraph be put into better English, that the word "authority" be substituted for "mandate" in the third paragraph and that the last paragraph be edited. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 45 to 8. MR. BRODSKY asked that his negative vote be recorded.

DISCUSSION ON STRUCTURE OF NEXT SESSION

SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN pointed out that the Committee had "omitted to do a very important thing, to organize the structure of the next Session." He then proceeded to read the resolutions of the Organization Committee adopted at the last Session with the idea of getting them approved as the basis for the organizational structure of the next Session. (See text, page 231.) The first paragraph was adopted as read. MR. ROTHSTEIN then read the second paragraph: "The Interim Committee shall elect three co-chairmen and shall elect such officers, set up such committees and appoint such agents as it may deem necessary for the transaction of its functions." BEN ZION GLASS moved that it be adopted as read. MR. LEVINE suggested that action be deferred on this particular paragraph on the ground that there had been some discussion about the possibility of substituting a single chairman for the Praesidium of three. MR. DAVID amended it to read: "The Interim Committee shall elect such officers, set up such committees and appoint such agents as it may deem necessary for the transaction of its functions," thus omitting the words "three co-chairmen and." MR. GREENBAUM proposed that the words "not to exceed three chairmen" be incorporated into Mr. David's amendment in place of the omitted words "three co-chairmen and."

MR. BRODSKY spoke against Mr. David's amendment, asking that the number of chairmen not be limited or specified. He urged that the three men "who have served so beautifully and ably" be retained and that the orthodox Jewish representation be given greater recognition. RABBI MAX KIRSHBLUM supported Mr. Brodsky, while MR. TEITELBAUM took exception, saying that he feels the question of blocs should not enter in here. MR. GLASS argued that the present structure of the Conference with regard to the number of co-chairmen be maintained, whereupon Mr. Greenbaum's motion limiting the number of chairmen was rejected.

Mr. David's amendment, which set no limitation upon the number of co-chairmen or officers, was then defeated by a vote of 11 to 10, whereupon LOUIS LIPSKY was called upon to speak. He was strongly in favor of allowing the Interim Committee to decide on the number of co-chairmen. MR. RICHE spoke in favor of the status quo. ISRAEL KRAMER and JULIUS FISHER opposed taking any action on the question because of the absence

of a majority or a quorum of the Committee, while MR. LEVINE and MR. ROTHSTEIN urged that a decision be taken inasmuch as the assembly present represented a cross-section of the groups. Mr. David's amendment was once again put to a vote and carried by 18 to 6.

MR. ROTHSTEIN read the third paragraph of the original resolution and it was overwhelmingly adopted. (For text, see page 231.)

DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTION ON FUTURE ORGANIZATION (continued)

The resolution on future organization, which had been revised by the special editorial committee appointed for this purpose, was then read by MRS. POOL. (For text of final version, see pages 231-232.) MR. ROTHSTEIN called attention to the fact that the words "Pittsburgh proposals" which the editorial committee had eliminated from the first paragraph were considered very important by certain groups and that it would be best to retain them. Mrs. Pool accepted the suggestion and the Committee voted to adopt the revised paragraph. The second paragraph was not touched. In the third paragraph the word "authority" was substituted for "mandate." To avoid the interpretation that the American Jewish Conference itself admitted it was not a competent body, which might well be implied were the first sentence to stand alone, the first two sentences of the fourth paragraph were merged into one. Because "nobody has a moral right to break up a sentence," Mrs. Pool was of the opinion that this would eliminate the danger of any such construction being placed upon the paragraph. In addition, the word "agencies" was changed to "organizations." In its final form the paragraph reads: "It is recognized that there is a widespread demand for an American Jewish organization competent to speak authoritatively for the Jewish community and since this Conference was not designed as a permanent body, the Interim Committee is directed to explore the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative Jewish body in consultation with representative community organizations and through agreement as to the nature and scope of such an organization with existing national organizations, and

subject to such agreement, to propose ways and means for bringing such a body into existence."

The motion to accept the report of the editorial committee on the entire resolution was carried by a vote of 45 to 8.

[The meeting was adjourned at 1:30 p.m.]

COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

The Palestine Committee, consisting of eighty-four members, held three meetings, Monday morning and afternoon, February 18th, and Tuesday morning, February 19th, under the chairmanship of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. A subcommittee with Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin as Chairman was appointed to draft the resolutions which appear on pages 233-236.

COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR PROBLEMS AND RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

The combined Post-War and Rescue Committee held two meetings, Sunday afternoon, February 17th, and Monday morning, February 18th. Rabbi Irving Miller, Chairman of the former Post-War Committee, and Dr. Sara Feder, Secretary of the former Committee on Rescue, were elected Chairman and Secretary respectively of the new joint committee. Resolutions drawn up by the Committee and approved by the Session appear on pages 237-243.

Reports on and recommendations for the alleviation of the condition of displaced persons in Germany and Austria were made by Dean Samuel L. Sar and Major Alfred Fleishman, who had served as representatives of the American Jewish Conference in the American zones.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

The Credentials Committee, consisting of thirty-eight members, held two meetings, Sunday afternoon, February 17th, and Monday morning, February 18th. Charles P. Kramer was re-elected Chairman, but upon his early departure Charles Mishkin took over as acting chairman. The Committee's report, presented to the third Plenary Meeting by Mr. Mish-

kin, is given on page 68. A report submitted to the General Committee by Samuel Rothstein, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials before the Third Session, and Rabbi David Sherman of the Conference staff appears on pages 195-196.

COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND FINANCE

The Budget and Finance Committee, consisting of forty-one members, held two meetings, Monday morning, February 18th, and Tuesday morning, February 19th, under the chairmanship of Aaron Droock, who had also served as Chairman at the Second Session. Abraham Machinist was Vice-Chairman, and Mrs. J. R. Jarcho, of the executive staff of the Conference, assisted on this Committee.

The Committee drew up the 1946 budget, which was projected on the basis of the Conference's 1945 financial experience. Its report, as submitted by Mr. Droock, appears on pages 178-181.

A resolution dealing with the method of raising funds was formulated and approved by the Plenary Meeting. For the text of this resolution, see page 243.

CONFERENCE BULLETIN

A special daily issue of the *Bulletin* of the American Jewish Conference was published during the Third Session. The *Bulletin* carried an account of daily proceedings at Plenary Meetings, summaries of reports and addresses, transactions of the committees and their resolutions, a directory of meetings, and a digest of the press on the issues before the Third Session.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions on Organization

Interim Committee

There shall be established an Interim Committee to continue the work of the Conference until its next session, to be selected on the same proportional basis as now prevails among the groupings in the Conference on the "key of ten" or major fraction thereof, with a number of members at large, not in excess of fifteen, to be chosen by the Interim Committee for addition to its membership. In connection with the designation of such members at large, consideration should be given to communities outside of the City of New York.

The Interim Committee shall elect such officers, set up such committees and appoint such agents as it may deem necessary for the transaction of its functions.

The Interim Committee shall implement the resolutions and decisions adopted by the American Jewish Conference and in so doing shall co-operate with other organizations and agencies, so far as such cooperation may be deemed desirable.

Future of the Conference

The delegates assembled at the Third Session of the American Jewish Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, having received with appreciation the report on the work done to implement the program and purposes of the Conference, and recognizing that the problems with which the Conference was created to deal, continue to confront the Jewish people with all their urgency and gravity, direct the new Interim Committee which will be elected at this Session to continue and intensify the work of the Conference within the purposes defined in the Pittsburgh proposals.

The Interim Committee shall call a Fourth Session of the Conference at such time and place as it deems advisable, but not later than 15 months from the date of this Session.

Where a vacancy exists or where the authority of a delegate is questioned by his community, the Interim Committee shall determine procedure to fill the vacancy so as to insure authorized representation of the community.

It is recognized that there is a widespread demand for an American Jewish organization competent to speak authoritatively for the Jewish community and since this Conference was not designed as a permanent body, the Interim Committee is directed to explore the possibility of establishing a permanent, democratic, representative Jewish body, in consultation with representative community organizations and through agreement as to the nature and scope of such an organization with existing national organizations, and subject to such agreement, to propose ways and means for bringing such a body into existence.

Resolutions on Palestine

Jewish Rights to Palestine

Thirty months ago the delegates to the American Jewish Conference, assembled in their First Session in New York City, adopted a resolution calling on the nations of the world to open Palestine to Jewish immigration, to recognize the right of the Jewish people to become a majority there, and to enable the Jewish people to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

The American people rallied in support of that resolution. Endorsements came from Americans in every walk of life, and action was taken by the United States Congress which adopted by overwhelming majority in both houses a resolution in December 1945 favoring Jewish aspirations in Palestine. In England the Labor Party came to power—the party, which over a period of years had declared its endorsement of the complete Zionist program, and which only a few months before it assumed office in 1945 urged that Jews be allowed to enter Palestine “in such numbers as to become the majority.”

When the war ended, it was confidently expected that the great powers would immediately implement the full intent and underlying purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

It is with dismay that we record the events since the termination of the war. Far from carrying out its solemn promises, the British Government moved to liquidate them. Our own administration has failed to advance the rightful aspirations of the Jewish people which were endorsed by every President of the United States since President Wilson and twice by the Congress of the United States.

In Europe hundreds of thousands of homeless, helpless and dispossessed Jews wait prayerfully and live only for the day when they will be permitted to leave the lands of their suffering where 6,200,000 of their people were done to death. They have waited for nine months since the day of liberation, but for them liberation has not yet come. For them the war continues so long as they are not free to go to Palestine, there to rebuild their lives.

But the doors of Palestine remain virtually closed. The British Government persists in the violation of its obligations under the League of Nations Mandate. The discriminatory restrictions of the White Paper continue in full force. Tens of thousands of British troops have been sent to Palestine, charged with the primary task of keeping out the helpless refugees who clamor at the gates for admission.

In the face of an unprecedented tragedy which called for heroic measures, Great Britain proposed and our administration acceded to a policy of procrastination and a proposal woefully inadequate to meet the situation. A committee of inquiry was created to investigate facts already well established by previous committees of inquiry and obvious to all.

In the light of the foregoing circumstances the delegates to this Conference declare that American Jews will never accede to any arrangement in Palestine which will in any manner abrogate or impair the rights that the Jewish people now have to that country under the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and will stand firm for the realization of the historic aspirations of the Jewish people.

We address ourselves to our own Government and to the entire civilized world requesting their support for the defense of our legitimate rights. This is the challenge which the United Nations must meet. This is the test of the integrity of those who now assume the responsibility for building a new world in which all peoples may live in peace and freedom.

Greetings to the Yishuv

We, the accredited delegates to the American Jewish Conference assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, February 17 to February 19, 1946, convey our heartfelt greetings and our deepest affection to the valiant Yishuv in Zion.

We proudly declare our solidarity with our brethren in Palestine. We stand with you in your refusal to recognize the illegal act of Great Britain in its attempt to deny the rightful entry of Jews into Palestine.

We share with you, our fellow Jews, in this crisis, the anguish which the Yishuv experiences daily as a consequence of the systematic policy of injustice and indignity imposed upon it by the mandatory government.

We feel highly privileged to identify ourselves with you in your

historic defense of the Jewish position on the ancient soil of Israel with dignity and courage.

Transjordan

This Conference reaffirms the resolve of the Jewish people to establish relations of amity and cooperation with the Arabs of Palestine and sees no incompatibility between Jewish national aspirations in Palestine and the civil rights and welfare of Arabs who reside there. But we deplore the fact that the British Government has allied itself with extremist and reactionary Arab elements throughout the Middle East and stimulates their avowed effort to destroy the Jewish position in Palestine, and the status of the Jewish National Home, which was established by solemn international covenants and embodied in the Law of Nations.

We note the announcement by the British Government of its intention to bring about the termination of the Palestine Mandate with respect to Eastern Palestine—Transjordan. This area is geographically and historically part of Palestine and subject to the same mandatory administration. This position, unilaterally taken by the British Government, without consultation with the Government of the United States, is a further attempt to prejudice the just and total solution of the Palestine problem. We therefore call upon the United Nations and our Government in particular to resist and to reject this action.

British Terror

As citizens of a free democracy, we are shocked by recurrent and brutal violations of civil rights in Palestine. Repressive measures are the order of the day. The Jews of Palestine are subjected to gross indignities. Civil rights are denied. News and the expression of opinions are censored. Persons are arrested without cause and homes are searched without warrant. A civilized and peace-loving people is kept in a state of virtual imprisonment, under what is substantially martial law. Deportations are carried out in direct violation of Palestine court decisions.

We demand that these practices, which are in fundamental contradiction to Anglo-Saxon law, and the best traditions of the English and American people, shall be discontinued forthwith.

Trial of Ex-Mufti

The American Jewish Conference demands that Amin el-Husseini, the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, immediately be placed on the war criminals list and brought to trial before the international military tribunal in Nuremberg for his active collaboration with the Nazis and for the prominent part he took in planning the wholesale slaughter of European Jews.

The ex-Mufti, more than any other single individual, was responsible for the bloody riots in Palestine in 1920, 1921, 1929, and for the protracted disturbances lasting from 1936 to 1939. In 1937 he fled Palestine to Syria and thence to Iraq, where he organized with Rashid Ali el Gailani, a rebellion against the Allies. When the rebellion was suppressed, Husseini went to Berlin as Hitler's collaborator.

Failure to bring Husseini to trial would constitute a miscarriage of justice and an impairment of the principles for which this war was fought.

Cable to Anglo-American Inquiry Committee

The American Jewish Conference representing the overwhelming majority of American Jewry, meeting at its Third Session in Cleveland, February 17 to February 19, declares its determination to stand firm for the program it adopted with respect to Palestine and the proposals submitted to your Committee on January 7 by its co-chairman, Henry Monsky.

Since that date, your Committee has gathered evidence and seen at firsthand the facts which so eloquently attest the extent of the emergency which exists in European Jewish life. Soon you will be observing personally in Palestine what Jews have been able to accomplish in rebuilding a land and a people. The tragedy is great. The solution has been embodied in the solemn covenants of nations. The urgency of the situation calls for vision and for a program of dynamic action.

Resolutions on Post-War Reconstruction

Refugees

The American Jewish Conference had hoped that by this time the problem of refugees from Nazi and Fascist persecution would have been solved. It was anticipated that, after this greatest of all tragedies which ever befell any people in the history of mankind, ways and means would rapidly be found for the speedy rehabilitation and final resettlement of the displaced Jews in Europe. Unfortunately, not only has the problem of displaced Jews not been adequately attacked, but new categories of displaced Jews are being created almost daily. Incredible though it may seem, Jews who had returned to their former homes in central and eastern Europe, are again forced to flee from persecution into the camps in the occupied zones of Germany.

The United Nations now realize that the problem of refugees is one of international concern and that special and more efficient machinery must be created to deal with a situation which daily becomes more grave. But the American Jewish Conference is convinced that any new international authority will be hampered if it does not take cognizance of the fact that the problem of Jewish refugees and Jewish displaced persons is a distinct one and requires solutions different from those applicable to other categories of displaced persons.

We therefore urge:

(1) Immediate possibilities of resettlement for the displaced Jewish persons and refugees should be found in accordance with the needs and wishes of these people, primarily in Palestine.

(2) To that end, and to alleviate the plight of Jewish displaced persons and refugees in the meantime, a new authority to deal with the refugee problem should be set up by the United Nations. This agency should include representatives of and be supported by all the governments of the United Nations.

(3) A Jewish advisory council to the new international authority on refugees should be established, composed of representatives of appropriate and representative Jewish organizations.

(4) The new authority on refugees should prevail upon the governments concerned to continue to give asylum to those refugees and displaced persons who have found temporary refuge within their borders and wherever possible to grant citizenship to those who wish to remain permanently.

(5) Displaced persons and refugees, irrespective of race, religion, or ethnic origin, who wish to be repatriated to the countries of their nationality or former nationality, or residence, should have that right and should also have the right to reacquire their former nationality, or to be naturalized in the countries where they had resided.

(6) Displaced Jews who do not wish to be repatriated to the country of their former domiciles, should not be compelled to return against their will. Those persons should be regarded as displaced persons, falling within the scope of the new international authority on refugees.

(7) The new authority on refugees should issue identity and travel documents to all stateless persons and those who do not in fact enjoy the protection of any government, and should prevail upon all governments to honor these documents fully.

Peace Treaties

A conference is scheduled to meet this spring in Paris, to draft and conclude peace treaties with Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland, and Italy. Peace treaties are to be concluded later with Austria and Germany.

The Nazi regime in former Fascist and satellite countries left deep wounds, and grave problems beset the small group of Jewish survivors. Despite the determination of the overwhelming majority of these Jews to emigrate to Palestine, considerable numbers may, for years to come, be left in these countries.

The provisions embodied in the armistice agreements, calling for the repeal of racial legislation, are gratifying, but in view of the persistence of Nazi and racist ideologies among the populations of these countries, these provisions must be extended and implemented further and effective enforcement machinery must be created. We therefore request that the American Government insure the inclusion of the following provisions in the peace treaties:

(1) Full equality in law and in fact shall be guaranteed to Jews and

Jewish communities in every field of life regulated by law or administrative enactment;

(2) Jewish victims of Axis persecution shall be restored fully to their former rights; restitution of their property shall be effected fully and, in cases where restitution is impossible, full indemnification shall be accorded to them or their heirs; the property of extinct Jewish communities, as well as all masterless and unclaimed property, shall be turned over to the Jewish community of the respective country to be used for the rehabilitation and resettlement of surviving Jews; provision shall be made for eventual transfer of property, or adequate compensation for it, to the countries of final settlement of Jews;

(3) In cases of new delimitation of boundaries, those persons who find themselves on the territory of a new state shall have the right either to remain there and automatically acquire the nationality of that state, or the right of emigration from the new territory and immigration to the territory of their former state, but no compulsion in this respect shall be exercised.

Reparations, Restitution and Compensation

The American Jewish Conference records with regret that no adequate provisions for restitution to and indemnification of victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution have thus far been made by the United Nations, nor do the various armistice agreements, or the Declarations of Moscow, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam contain any such provisions.

It is also distressing that in the matter of collective reparations, the just claim of the Jewish people was disregarded in the Paris Agreement on Reparations. The provisions included in this Agreement for the rehabilitation of displaced persons are by no means adequate, and there is no guarantee of the extent to which they will benefit Jewish displaced persons. We maintain that property, made masterless by persecution and murder of Jews, rightfully and justly belongs to the Jewish people, and that only the representatives of the Jewish people should be entitled to determine its use for the resettlement and rehabilitation of Jews. The dire need of the Jewish people for reconstruction and reasons of justice demand restitution and compensation.

With regard for resolutions of the previous sessions of the American Jewish Conference, and in the light of new developments, we recommend the following:

(1) The principle should be acknowledged by the United Nations and incorporated in the peace treaties to be concluded, that all property looted or confiscated from Jews by Nazi action, directly or indirectly, shall be considered the property of Jewish individuals or of the Jewish people.

(2) Accordingly, Jewish victims of direct or indirect Axis persecution should be restored fully to their former rights, restitution of their property should be effected, and, in cases where restitution is impossible, full indemnification should be accorded to them or their heirs; the property of extinct Jewish communities as well as all masterless and unclaimed property, or its proceeds, should be turned over to the Jewish community of the respective country to be used for the rehabilitation and resettlement of surviving Jews, primarily in Palestine.

(3) Provision should be made for the transfer of restored property, or its proceeds, to countries of Jewish resettlement. Provision should also be made for transfer of indemnification to individuals residing in other countries.

(4) Representative Jewish advisers should be appointed to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, to the Property Control Division of the American Military Government in Germany and Austria, and to the Reparations Division of the Control Council, to assure the proper identification of Jewish property, and the preparation and execution of restitutive measures.

(5) Property of Jewish victims of Axis persecution, in neutral or Allied countries, should be exempted from all measures directed against enemy property, regardless of their former nationality.

(6) The peace treaties should include provisions guaranteeing restitution and proper indemnification of all victims of racial and religious persecution for loss or injury to person or property.

(7) International guarantees and proper machinery should be set up to enforce the implementation and execution of these provisions.

Human Rights

It is hoped that the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations Organization will find ways and means to establish appropriate machinery for effective supervision and enforcement, that it will pay particular attention to the problem of the protection of human rights in countries that are not yet members of the United Nations and that the Commission will fully realize the particularly precarious position of the Jewish people in many countries.

The Conference recommends that the international bill of rights to be drawn up shall include, in addition to such fundamental freedoms as freedom from arbitrary arrest and search, freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly and association, the following specific provisions:

(1) Outlawing of anti-Semitism and racism, and making of incitement to and practice of racial, ethnic and religious discrimination a punishable offense.

(2) The right of every person to the nationality of that country on whose territory he was born, unless he desires another nationality.

(3) The right of every person to emigrate freely and be expatriated at his request.

(4) The protection of specific group rights of ethnic, cultural and religious groups. Among such rights are rights in the field of education, welfare, and religious and cultural activities.

We recommend that the international bill of rights be made a part of the constitutions of the members of the United Nations Organization. We finally recommend that appropriate and representative organizations should be given the right to petition the Human Rights Commission and any other international judicial or administrative agencies which may be set up by the United Nations Organization.

Plight of the Children

American Jewry is deeply concerned over the fate of thousands of Jewish orphans in Europe who are not only suffering physical deprivations, but are gradually becoming estranged from their people and heritage.

The American Jewish Conference therefore resolves to bend all efforts,

in cooperation with relief organizations, towards the rescue of these children and to bring them into Palestine where they will find physical and spiritual rehabilitation.

Jewish Representation on UNO and UNO Agencies

We reaffirm the expressed will of the Jewish people to be represented, through authoritative and representative Jewish bodies, in the councils of the United Nations. Accordingly, particularly in view of the fact that the United Nations Organization has granted recognition and status to bodies representing labor and consumer groups, we ask for Jewish representation on appropriate agencies and organizations dealing with matters closely connected with Jewish rights and interests.

The Conference instructs the Interim Committee, in cooperation with the World Jewish Congress, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and other such representative bodies, to take the necessary steps to effectuate this demand.

Safeguarding the Peace

The delegates to the American Jewish Conference view with increasing apprehension persistent reports that nine months after the defeat of the Nazi armies, Nazism is far from being eliminated as a potent force in the public, economic, and social life of Germany. The process of denazification is still, in too many instances, sacrificed to the alleged expediencies of local administration. This in turn has given hope and strength to the ever latent forces of Nazism and Fascism in Germany and other countries. We call upon our own Government, and upon the governments allied with it, to pursue relentlessly the process of denazification as agreed upon in the Potsdam Declaration. Unless this is done, there is grave danger that the recrudescence of active political Nazism in Germany will fan the fires of a new world catastrophe. Millions of freedom-loving, democratic people look to the Allied governments to carry out their pledges. We must not fall short of fulfilling them.

Liaison with Relief Organizations

The American Jewish community has this year been called upon to raise an unprecedented sum for relief and assistance to Jews abroad. The goal must be achieved, not as an act of charity but of brotherhood and self-preservation for the Jewish people.

The liaison workers dispatched by the American Jewish Conference to Europe report a desperate need for planned rehabilitation and reconstruction. To prevent the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution from becoming perpetual charity wards, living out their lives in frustration, dislocation and insecurity, the objectives must be training, self-sustenance and permanent resettlement in countries of their choice. To accomplish these aims, relief efforts on the part of such organizations as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee must, of necessity, have the support of political representations of the American Jewish Conference, the body democratically organized to represent American Jewry for this purpose.

Therefore, the American Jewish Conference calls for the establishment of liaison and close cooperation with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and instructs the Interim Committee to take the necessary steps toward this end.

Resolution on Budget and Finance

The sum of \$250,000 is to be made available to the American Jewish Conference for the current year of 1946. The estimated budget is based upon the expenditures and experience reflected in the financial and operating statement of the past year.

The funds shall be contributed by the communities, local, or regional, and national organizations of the country, in accordance with their proper and equitable responsibility; these funds to be raised through the medium of existing instrumentalities or community organizations, or other methods to be determined by the communities in order that financial support of the Conference shall come from the entire American Jewish community in consonance with the representative democratic character of the Conference.

ROSTER OF DELEGATES

ROSTER of DELEGATES

REGISTERED at the THIRD SESSION of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

| <i>Name of Delegate¹</i> | <i>Delegate from²</i> |
|--|---|
| Abelson, Isaac 4 | Birmingham, Ala. |
| Alkow, Jacob ³ 4 | Los Angeles, Calif. |
| Alson, Jacob ⁴ 2 | Bronx, N. Y. |
| Altshuler, Oscar H. 1 | Youngstown, Ohio |
| Aronowitz, Samuel E. 7 | Albany, N. Y. |
| Aronson, Rabbi David 3 | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Aronson, Mrs. Robert L. 1 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Axelman, Rabbi Benjamin G. ⁵ 9 | Baltimore, Md. (Region) |
| Barnett, Mrs. Arthur 7 | San Francisco, Calif. |
| Barr, Joseph F. 7, <i>Washington, D. C.</i> | Jewish War Veterans |
| Barron, Dr. Moses 1 | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Barsel, Rabbi Solomon M. 5 | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Becker, Leonard S. 4 | Dayton, Ohio |
| Bender, Mrs. Oscar G. 4 | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Ben Zvi, Samuel ⁶ n, <i>New York City</i> | Hashomer Hatzair |
| Bergman, Rabbi Bernard 9 | New York, N. Y. |
| Berke, Sam 1, <i>Union City, N. J.</i> | American Federation for Polish Jews |
| Berkman, Mrs. Harry 4 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Bernhardt, Maurice ⁷ 3 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Berson, Samuel 4 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Birnbaum, Rabbi Benjamin H. 3 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Bisgyer, Maurice 2, <i>Washington, D. C.</i> | B'nai B'rith |
| Blankfein, Mrs. Jules 4 | Queens, N. Y. |
| Bloom, Rabbi Herbert I. 4 | Kingston, N. Y. (Region) |
| Bloomfield, Mrs. Hugo 7 | Lexington, Ky. (Region) |
| Bokser, Chaplain Ben Zion 3 | Queens, N. Y. |
| Brandt, Milly 1, <i>New York City</i> | American Jewish Congress — Women's Division |
| Bressler, Max 1 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Brickner, Rabbi Barnett R. 4 | Cleveland, Ohio |
| Brodie, Louis M. ⁸ 2 | Richmond, Va. |
| Brodsky, Nathan H. 9 | Newark, N. J. |
| Brown, Frank 4 | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Burke, Walter 6 | Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| Burman, Howard A. 2 | Baltimore, Md. (Region) |
| Caplan, Rabbi Jonah E. 4 | Queens, N. Y. |
| Caplan, Samuel ⁹ 1 | New York, N. Y. |

¹ The number after each name indicates the Group or Bloc joined by the delegates and designated as follows: 1. American Jewish Congress; 2. B'nai B'rith; 3. Conservative Religious Group; 4. General Zionist; 5. Independent Group; 6. Labor Zionist Bloc; 7. Non-partisan Group; 8. Reform Religious Group; 9. Religious National Orthodox Bloc n. No designation.

² This column indicates the City, Region, or National Organization represented by each delegate. The city mentioned in a Region is the delegate's place of residence.

³ Alternate for Rabbi Jacob Kohn

⁴ Alternate for Max J. Schneider

⁵ Alternate for Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt

⁶ Replacing Moshe Furmansky

⁷ Alternate for Judge Emanuel Greenberg

⁸ Alternate for Israel November

⁹ Replacing Hon. Carl Sherman

| <i>Name of Delegate¹</i> | <i>Delegate from²</i> |
|--|---|
| Cardozo, Rabbi D. A. Jessurun ¹⁰ 4, <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i> | Union of Sephardic Congregations |
| Chafets, Max ¹¹ 6 | Detroit, Mich. |
| Charlop, Rabbi J. M. 9 | Bronx, N. Y. |
| Chazin, Abraham ¹² 7 | Teaneck, N. J. (Region) |
| Chinich, Oscar 5 | Newark, N. J. |
| Cohen, Abe R. ¹³ 4 | Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| Cohen, Rabbi Armond E. ¹⁴ 3, <i>Cleveland, Ohio</i> | Rabbinical Assembly of America |
| Cohen, Mrs. Bezalel ¹⁵ 9 | Paterson, N. J. |
| Cohen, Eli A. 1 | Lynn, Mass. |
| Cohen, Jesse 8 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Cohen, Joseph 2 | Kansas City, Kans. (Region) |
| Conway, Mrs. Joseph B. ¹⁶ 3, <i>Cleveland, Ohio</i> | National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America |
| Cooper, Rabbi Samuel 4 | Charleston, W. Va. (Region) |
| David, Sigmund W. 1 | Chicago, Ill. |
| deSola Pool, Mrs. David 4, <i>New York City</i> | Hadassah |
| Diamond, Dr. Joseph ¹⁷ 4 | Rochester, N. Y. |
| Dinkes, Mrs. Estelle ¹⁸ 1 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Dinkes, Nathan 1 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Doft, Benjamin J. ¹⁹ 7 | Lawrence, L. I. (Region) |
| Doft, Max 1 | Cedarhurst, L. I. (Region) |
| Doppelt, Mrs. Isidor ²⁰ 9, <i>Cleveland, Ohio</i> | Union of Orthodox Jewish Congrega- tions—Women's Branch |
| Drazin, Dr. Nathan 9 | Baltimore, Md. (Region) |
| Droock, Aaron 2 | Detroit, Mich. |
| Dubow, Henry ²¹ 6 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Duker, Samuel 6 | Bronx, N. Y. |
| Ehrenreich, H. 6 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Ehrlich, Harry M. 7 | Springfield, Mass. |
| Ehrlich, Mrs. Joseph H. 4 | Detroit, Mich. |
| Eisenberg, Dr. Azriel ²² 4, <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i> | Jewish Educational Organizations ²³ |
| Eisendrath, Dr. Maurice N. 8, <i>Cincinnati, Ohio</i> | Union of American Hebrew Congrega- tions |
| Ellison, Hon. Daniel ²⁴ 1 | Baltimore, Md. (Region) |
| Epstein, Albert K. 4 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Epstein, Rabbi Ephraim 9 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Epstein, Rabbi Harry H. 4 | Atlanta, Ga. |
| Epstein, Dr. Louis M. 3, <i>Brookline Mass.</i> | Rabbinical Assembly of America |
| Epstein, Mrs. Moses P. 4 | New York, N. Y. |

¹⁰ Alternate for Dr. David deSola Pool¹¹ Alternate for Morris L. Shaver¹² Alternate for Howard Mack¹³ Alternate for Rabbi B. A. Lichter¹⁴ Alternate for Dr. Robert Gordis¹⁵ Alternate for Rabbi Bezalel Cohen¹⁶ Alternate for Mrs. Samuel Spiegel¹⁷ Alternate for Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein¹⁸ Alternate for Edward S. Silver¹⁹ Alternate for Mrs. Samuel Golding²⁰ Alternate for Mrs. Elizabeth Isaacs²¹ Alternate for Dr. David Reblsky²² Alternate for Hon. Mark Eisner²³ Include American Association for Jewish Education, National Council for Jewish Education, and National Federation of Hebrew Teachers²⁴ Replacing Dr. Louis L. Kaplan

*Name of Delegate*¹
 Evans, Jane 8, *Cincinnati* and
New York City
 Farber, Mrs. Ida Cook 2, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Feder, Dr. Sara 6, *Columbia, Mo.*
 Federbush, Dr. Simon 9
 Feigenbaum, Gabriel²⁵ 9, *Cleveland, O.*
 Feldman, Dr. Abraham J.²⁶ 8, *Hartford, Conn.*
 Feller, Harry S. 4
 Fellerman, Irving 1, *New York City*
 Feuer, I. L.²⁷ 7, *Youngstown, Ohio*
 Feuer, Dr. Leon I.²⁸ 4, *Toledo, Ohio*
 Fineberg, Herman²⁹ 7
 Fineman, Professor Hayim 6
 Fink, Rabbi Adolph H. 7
 Finkel, Hon. Samuel B. 8,
New York City
 Fischer, Mrs. Nathan B.³⁰ 9
 Fisher, Judge Harry M. 4
 Fisher, Julius 2
 Fisher, Mendel N.³¹ 4
 Fishman, Jacob 6
 Fliegel, Hyman J. 4, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Folkman, Rabbi Jerome D. 2
 Fram, Rabbi Leon 1
 Frankel, Charles 6
 Frankel, Harold O. N. 1, *New York City*
 Frankel, Harry A.³² 2
 Franklin, Pearl 4
 Fredman, J. George 7, *Jersey City, N. J.*
 Freudenheim, Ernest S.³³ 4
 Friedman, Samuel 7
 Fromberg, Judge Joseph³⁴ 2
 Fromberg, Samuel H.³⁵ 9, *New York City*
 Fryer, Mrs. Julius 7
 Funk, Zeld³⁶ 4, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Gabriel, Rabbi Joseph 9
 Gattegno, Mrs. Dorothy³⁷ 1
 Geffen, Rabbi Joel S.³⁸ 3, *New York City*

Gellman, Leon 9, *New York City*

*Delegate from*²
 National Federation of Temple Sister-
 hoods
 B'nai B'rith—Women's Supreme Council
 Pioneer Women's Organization of
 America
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Union of Orthodox Jewish Congrega-
 tions
 Central Conference of American Rabbis
 New Brunswick, N. J.
 Free Sons of Israel
 Jewish War Veterans
 Zionist Organization of America
 Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Spokane, Wash (Region)
 National Federation of Temple Brother-
 hoods
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Roanoke, Va. (Region)
 New York, N. Y.
 New York, N. Y.
 B'nai Zion
 Grand Rapids, Mich. (Region)
 Detroit, Mich.
 Asbury Park, N. J. (Region)
 Independent Order Brith Abraham
 Peoria, Ill. (Region)
 Chicago, Ill.
 Jewish War Veterans
 Buffalo, N. Y.
 Akron, Ohio
 Charleston, S. Carolina (Region)
 National Council of Young Israel
 Cleveland, Ohio
 Youth Organizations³⁷
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Bronx, N. Y.
 National Federation of Jewish Men's
 Clubs of the United Synagogue of
 America
 Mizrahi Organization of America

²⁵ Alternate for Dr. Samuel Nirenstein
²⁶ Replacing Dr. James G. Heller
²⁷ Replacing Samuel Rhodes
²⁸ Replacing Herman Shulman (deceased)
²⁹ Alternate for Edgar J. Kaufmann
³⁰ Alternate for Mrs. Abraham Shapiro
³¹ Alternate for Judge Morris Rothenberg
³² Alternate for Dr. Abram L. Sachar
³³ Replacing Hon. David Diamond
³⁴ Alternate for Hyman Rubin
³⁵ Replacing Simeon F. Gross
³⁶ Alternate for Naomi Chertoff
³⁷ Include eleven organizations. See Appendix, page 259
³⁸ Alternate for Henry J. Perahia
³⁹ Alternate for Stanley Garten, who replaced Milton Berger

Name of Delegate¹

Gerber, William M. 2
 Getzler, Charles 9
 Gilbert, Arthur 2, *New York City*
 Gilbert, Harry⁴⁰ 4
 Gilbert, Jacob H.⁴¹ 4
 Gilgor, Louis I. 5, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Gingold, Miriam 6, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Gingold, Philip M. 6
 Ginsburg, Arnold R. 5
 Gladstone, Dr. Arthur 4
 Glantz, Leib 6
 Glass, Ben Zion⁴² 2
 Glovsky, Harry A.⁴³
 Goldberg, Ned⁴⁴ 4
 Goldberg, Mrs. Rebecca⁴⁵ 6
 Goldburg, Edward 4
 Goldenberg, David L. 4
 Goldman, Frank 2
 Goldman, Hymen 4
 Goldman, Reuben⁴⁶ 4
 Goldman, Mrs. Sam⁴⁷ 9, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Goldsmith, Morris⁴⁸ 6
 Goldstein, Dr. Israel 4
 Goldstein, Mrs. Israel 6
 Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel 9,
Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Goodman, Alexander 4, *Baltimore, Md.*
 Goodman, Israel R. 4
 Goodman, Morris⁴⁹ 6
 Gordon, Dr. Julius 8
 Gordon, Mrs. Sonia⁵⁰ 7, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Gottesman, Mrs. Benjamin⁵¹ 4
 Greenbaum, Nathaniel 1, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Greenberg, Hayim 6
 Greenberg, Mrs. Shoshana⁵² 6
 Greenberg, Rabbi Simon 4
 Greenfield, Rabbi Eugene⁵³ 4
 Gribetz, Louis J. 4
 Gurtman, William N.⁵⁴ 1
 Haber, Philmore J. 2

Delegate from²

Philadelphia, Pa.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Youth Organizations
 Columbus, Ohio
 South Bend, Indiana (Region)
 Independent Order Brith Sholom
 Pioneer Women's Organization of
 America
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Burlington, Vt. (Region)
 Los Angeles, Calif.
 Chicago, Ill.
 North Adams, Mass. (Region)
 Harrisburg, Pa.
 Los Angeles, Calif.
 San Antonio, Texas
 Duluth, Minn. (Region)
 Lowell, Mass. (Region)
 Washington, D. C.
 Rochester, N. Y.
 Union of Orthodox Jewish Congrega-
 tions—Women's Branch
 Bronx, N. Y.
 New York, N. Y.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Mizrahi Women's Organization of
 America
 Independent Order Brith Sholom—
 Baltimore
 St. Louis, Mo.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 St. Louis, Mo.
 Jewish War Veterans—National Ladies
 Auxiliary
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Free Sons of Israel
 New York, N. Y.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Norfolk, Va.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Passaic, N. J.
 Cleveland, Ohio

⁴⁰ Alternate for Albert Schiff⁴¹ Replacing Maurice Tucker⁴² Alternate for Oscar S. Caplan⁴³ Alternate for Harry Levine⁴⁴ Alternate for Gustav Kaplan⁴⁵ Alternate for Dr. Nathan S. Saltzman⁴⁶ Alternate for Joseph Goldstein⁴⁷ Alternate for Mrs. Isidor Freedman⁴⁸ Alternate for Halpern Leivick⁴⁹ Replacing Baruch Zuckerman⁵⁰ Alternate for Mrs. Bessie Kronberg⁵¹ Alternate for Mrs. Joseph Horowitz⁵² Alternate for Mrs. I. Staller⁵³ Alternate for Morton Cushner⁵⁴ Alternate for Joseph A. Feder

*Name of Delegate*¹
Halevi, Mordecai⁵⁵ 4, *New York City*
Halpern, Rabbi Abraham E.⁵⁶ 4
Halprin, Mrs. Samuel W. 4, *New York City*
Hamerman, Mrs. Joseph 4
Hanin, Michael 2
Harber, Samuel *n*
Harrison, Louis⁵⁷ 2
Helfinstein, Meyer⁵⁸ 1
Hennig, Mrs. Julian⁵⁹ 8, *Columbia, S. C.*
Hertz, Mrs. David Ralph⁶⁰ 7, *Cleveland, Ohio*
Hollander, Abraham H.⁶¹ 1
Hollender, Dr. S. S.⁶² 8, *Chicago, Ill.*
Hurwitz, Mrs. Jacob M.⁶³ 4
Ish-Kishor, Jacob 4
Jacobs, Rabbi Robert P.⁶⁴ 4
Jacobson, Reuben F. 1
Jick, Morris 6
Kagan, Isadore 6
Kahn, Albert E. 1, *Yorktown, N. Y.*
Katcher, Joseph⁶⁵ 1, *New York City*
Kaufman, Mrs. Louis 6
Kaufman, S. Herbert 8, *Harrisburg, Pa.*
Kay, Leon⁶⁶ 1, *Detroit, Mich.*
Kerstein, Solomon 1, *New York City*
Kirshblum, Rabbi Max 9, *New York City*
Kirshblum, Rabbi Usher⁶⁷ 3
Klainer, Ruben H. 4
Klutznick, Philip M.⁶⁸ 2
Kopelman, Mrs. Barnett E. 3, *New York City*
Kopplemann, Rep. Herman P. 3, *Hartford, Conn.*
Kopstein, Max A. 1
Kramer, Charles P.⁶⁹ 8, *New York City*
Kramer, Israel 5
Krensky, Milton J. 1

*Delegate from*²
Histadruth Ivrit
St. Louis, Mo.
Hadassah
New York, N. Y.
Pottsville, Pa. (Region)
Union City, N. J. (Region)
Chicago, Ill.
Bronx, N. Y.
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Council of Jewish Women
New York, N. Y.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Boston, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Asheville, N. C. (Region)
Canton, Ohio
St. Louis, Mo.
Boston, Mass.
Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I.W.O.
United Roumanian Jews of America
Cleveland, Ohio
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
Independent Order Brith Abraham
United Galician Jews of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Queens, N. Y.
Chelsea, Mass.
Omaha, Nebraska
National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America
United Synagogue of America
Chicago, Ill.
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
Trenton, N. J.
Chicago, Ill.

⁵⁵ Alternate for Samuel J. Borowsky

⁵⁶ Alternate for Morris Shapiro

⁵⁷ Alternate for Sigmund Livingston. Mr. Livingston has since died

⁵⁸ Alternate for Hon. Benjamin Antin

⁵⁹ Alternate for Mrs. Hugo Hartmann

⁶⁰ Alternate for Mrs. Joseph M. Welt

⁶¹ Alternate for Herman Hoffman

⁶² Alternate for Adolph Rosenberg

⁶³ Alternate for Judge Lewis Goldberg

⁶⁴ Alternate for E. J. Evans

⁶⁵ Replacing Leo Wolfson

⁶⁶ Alternate for Max Silverstein

⁶⁷ Alternate for Rabbi Arthur H. Neulander

⁶⁸ Alternate for Rabbi David A. Goldstein

⁶⁹ Part-time alternate, Dr. James G. Heller

Name of Delegate¹

Kroll, Mrs. Mortimer J. 4
 Krumbein, Abraham 4
 Kubowitzki, Dr. A. Leon⁷⁰ 6
 Kussy, Sarah⁷¹ 3, *Newark, N. J.*

 Kusworm, Sidney G. 2, *Dayton, Ohio*
 Landes, David S. 9
 Landy, Samuel H.⁷² 5, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Langh, Rabbi Philip A.⁷³ 7
 Laufman, Mrs. Arthur G. 2, *Chicago, Ill.*

 Lemberg, Abe I.⁷⁴ 5, *Elizabeth, N. J.*
 Levenberg, Rabbi Samuel⁷⁵ 4
 Levenson, Eleanor⁷⁶ 6
 Levine, Mrs. Dorothy S.⁷⁷ 4
 Levine, Dr. Harris J. 4
 Levine, Seymour R. 4
 Levinson, Rabbi Moshe H. 9
 Levinthal, Judge Louis E. 4, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Levinthal, Mrs. Louis E. 4
 Levy, Dr. Felix A.⁷⁸ 8
 Levy, Mrs. Felix A. 7
 Levy, Max 4
 Lewis, Mrs. M. J. 4
 Lipsky, Louis 4
 Lookstein, Rabbi Joseph H. 9, *New York City*
 Lookstein, Mrs. Joseph H.⁷⁹ 9, *New York City*
 Lowitz, Leo H. 1
 Maccoby, Rabbi Max 4
 Machinist, Abraham 1
 Margulies, Morris⁸⁰ 7
 Margulis, Dr. Abraham 6, *New York City*
 Markle, Samuel⁸¹ 2
 Marks, Dr. Sidney⁸² 4
 Marrus, Jacob 9
 Masovetsky, Rabbi H. Leon 9
 Masovetsky, Mrs. H. Leon⁸³ 9
 May, Mrs. Albert J. 7, *New York City*
 May, Mortimer 4
 Mellitz, Judge Samuel 1
 Melnick, Samuel 3, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

Delegate from²

Cedarhurst, L. I. (Region)
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 New York, N. Y.
 National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America
 B'nai B'rith
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Independent Order Brith Sholom
 Oakland, Calif.
 B'nai B'rith — Women's Supreme Council
 Independent Order Brith Sholom
 New Haven, Conn.
 New York, N. Y.
 New York, N. Y.
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Peekskill, N. Y. (Region)
 Washington, D. C.
 Zionist Organization of America

 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Staten Island, N. Y.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 New York, N. Y.
 Rabbinical Council of America

 Mizrahi Women's Organization of America
 Chicago, Ill.
 Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
 Manchester, N. H. (Region)
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Jewish National Workers' Alliance

 New York, N. Y.
 Washington, D. C.
 Queens, N. Y.
 Boston, Mass.
 Boston, Mass.
 National Council of Jewish Women
 Nashville, Tenn.
 Bridgeport, Conn.
 Youth Organizations

⁷⁰ Alternate for Teddy Cohen. Mr. Cohen has since died

⁷¹ Replacing Mrs. Morris Klein

⁷² Replacing Frank A. Simons

⁷³ Alternate for Harry J. Sapper

⁷⁴ Replacing Frank E. Bernstein

⁷⁵ Alternate for Rabbi Louis Greenberg. Rabbi Greenberg has since died

⁷⁶ Alternate for Louis Segal

⁷⁷ Alternate for Herman Z. Quittman

⁷⁸ Alternate for Albert F. Mecklenburger

⁷⁹ Alternate for Mrs. Lionel Golub

⁸⁰ Alternate for Dr. Louis Rosenblum

⁸¹ Alternate for Louis Fabricant

⁸² Alternate for Edmund I. Kaufmann

⁸³ Alternate for David M. Watchmaker

Name of Delegate¹

Milcoff, Dr. I.⁸⁴ 6, *Cleveland, Ohio*
Miller, Deborah⁸⁵, *Cleveland, Ohio*

Miller, Rabbi Irving 1
Miller, Chaplain Israel 4
Mishkin, Charles⁸⁶ 9
Mogil, Mrs. Blanche 6
Moinester, Elias A. n, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
Moldovan, William 7
Monsky, Henry 2, *Omaha, Nebraska*
Morris, Benjamin I. 2
Muller, Herman⁸⁷ 7, *New York City*

Neaderland, Herman 4
Neumann, Emanuel⁸⁸ 4, *New York City*
Newman, Abe 2
Nussbaum, Dr. Max 1
Ogust, Max 1, *New York City*
Osri, Mrs. Aron 2
Pearlman, Rabbi David W. 1
Peiser, Mrs. Ernest 4
Pekelis, Dr. Alexander⁸⁹ 6, *New York City*
Pekelner, A. Arthur 5
Perlman, Judge Nathan D. 1
Perlman, Mrs. Nathan D. 4
Perlow, Max 1, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*

Persky, Mrs. Dorothy⁹⁰ 7, *Cleveland, Ohio*

Petegorsky, Dr. David⁹¹ 1
Peyser, Jefferson E. 2
Pine, Harry A. 4
Plaut, Rabbi W. Gunther 7
Pollak, Dr. Berthold S. 2
Poupko, Rabbi Bernard A.⁹² 9
Rabinowitz, Rabbi Hyman R. 4
Rabinowitz, Rabbi Stanley⁹³ 3, *New York City*

Rabkin, William⁹⁴ 2
Redelheim, Abraham A. 4
Reichman, Rabbi Solomon 9
Resnick, Aaron⁹⁵ 6, *Cleveland, Ohio*
Riche, Aaron 2
Riff, Rabbi Naftoly N. 9
Ritman, H. B. 1

Delegate from²

Poale Zion — Zeire Zion
National Association of Jewish Center Workers
Queens, N. Y.
Bronx, N. Y.
Chicago, Ill.
Bronx, N. Y.
Federation of Palestine Jews of America
McKeesport, Pa.
B'nai B'rith
Chicago, Ill.
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Zionist Organization of America
Jacksonville, Fla.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Free Sons of Israel
Chicago, Ill.
Stamford, Conn.
Kansas City, Mo.
Poale Zion — Zeire Zion

Yonkers, N. Y.
New York, N. Y.
New York, N. Y.
Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity
Jewish War Veterans — National Ladies Auxiliary
New York, N. Y.
San Francisco, Calif.
Newark, N. J.
Chicago, Ill.
Jersey City, N. J.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sioux City, Iowa (Region)
United Synagogue of America

New York, N. Y.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bronx, N. Y.
Jewish National Workers' Alliance
Los Angeles, Calif.
Camden, N. J.
Chicago, Ill.

⁸⁴ Alternate for S. Bonchek

⁸⁵ Alternate for Miriam Ephraim

⁸⁶ Alternate for Joseph Rolnick

⁸⁷ Alternate for Rudolf Callman

⁸⁸ Replacing Dr. Solomon Goldman

⁸⁹ Replacing Abraham Revusky (deceased)

⁹⁰ Alternate for Mrs. Jessie C. Gneslin

⁹¹ Alternate for Dr. Samuel Margoshes

⁹² Alternate for Rabbi A. M. Ashinsky

⁹³ Alternate for Michael Stavitsky

⁹⁴ Replacing Rabbi Harold H. Mashioff (deceased)

⁹⁵ Alternate for Sol Burstein

| <i>Name of Delegate¹</i> | <i>Delegate from²</i> |
|--|--|
| Rittenberg, Louis ⁹⁶ 8 | New York, N. Y. |
| Rivlin, Moishe 6, <i>Brooklyn, N. Y.</i> | Yiddish P.E.N. Club and Yiddish Writers' Union |
| Roback, Sam ⁹⁷ 2 | Dallas, Texas |
| Rose, Judge David A. 2 | Boston, Mass. |
| Rosenbaum, Henry ⁹⁸ 4 | Plainfield, N. J. (Region) |
| Rosenberg, Aaron 2 | Detroit, Mich. |
| Rosenberg, Maurice 1, <i>New York City</i> | Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity |
| Rosenblatt, Judge Bernard A. 4, <i>New York City</i> | B'nai Zion |
| Rosengarten, Charles 1 | Waterbury, Conn. |
| Rosenson, Alvin ⁹⁹ 8 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Rosenson, Herzl 9, <i>Chicago, Ill.</i> | Hapoel Hamizrachi of America |
| Rosenson, Mrs. Herzl ¹⁰⁰ 9, <i>Chicago, Ill.</i> | Hapoel Hamizrachi of America |
| Rosensweig, Louis ¹⁰¹ 1 | Bronx, N. Y. |
| Rosenthal, Mrs. Harry 4 | St. Paul, Minn. |
| Rosenthal, Rabbi Rudolph M. 1 | Cleveland, Ohio |
| Rosett, Mrs. Louis A. 8, <i>New Rochelle, N. Y.</i> | National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods |
| Rosman, Sol ¹⁰² 1, <i>New York City</i> | United Romanian Jews of America |
| Rossyn, George D. 4 | Malden, Mass. |
| Rothstein, Samuel 3, <i>New York City</i> | United Synagogue of America |
| Rubenstein, Emil 2 | Buffalo, N. Y. |
| Rubenstein, M. Morton ¹⁰³ 9, <i>New York City</i> | Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations |
| Rubiner, Charles ¹⁰⁴ 7 | Detroit, Mich. |
| Rubinstein, Leon ¹⁰⁵ 6 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Sachs, Louis 1 | New Haven, Conn. |
| Sacks, Dr. David 9 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Sacks, Rabbi Maxwell L. ¹⁰⁶ 4 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Saltzman, Rubin 1, <i>New York City</i> | Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I.W.O. |
| Samuels, Benjamin 2 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Samuels, Leo S. ¹⁰⁷ 2 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Sandler, George 1, <i>New York City</i> | Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the I.W.O. |
| Sandler, Louis M. ¹⁰⁸ 6 | Chicago, Ill. |
| Sands, Mrs. Irving J. ¹⁰⁹ 7 | Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Sar, Samuel L. ¹¹⁰ 9, <i>New York City</i> | Mizrachi Organization of America |
| Schlossberg, Joseph 6, <i>Bronx, N. Y.</i> | League for Labor Palestine |
| Schlussel, Irving W. ¹¹¹ 9 | Detroit, Mich. |

⁹⁶ Alternate for Harry N. Wessel, who resigned. No replacement as yet

⁹⁷ Alternate for Eugene M. Solow

⁹⁸ Alternate for Edward Sachar

⁹⁹ Alternate for Judge Meier Steinbrink

¹⁰⁰ Alternate for Rabbi Israel Schorr

¹⁰¹ Alternate for Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig

¹⁰² Replacing Charles Sonnenreich

¹⁰³ Replacing Dr. Asher Isaacs

¹⁰⁴ Alternate for Fred M. Butzel

¹⁰⁵ Alternate for Kieve Skidell

¹⁰⁶ Alternate for Morris A. Zeldin

¹⁰⁷ Alternate for Dr. Louis L. Mann

¹⁰⁸ Alternate for Dr. Bernard Rodin

¹⁰⁹ Alternate for Mrs. Benjamin Spitzer

¹¹⁰ Replacing Rabbi Wolf Gold

¹¹¹ Alternate for Daniel Temchin

Name of Delegate¹

Schmidt, Mrs. Esther Ida¹¹² 6, *Cincinnati, Ohio*
 Schneiderman, Mrs. Anna Center 1, *New York City*
 Schorr, Rabbi Henry A. 1
 Schrank, Max C. 2
 Schwartz, Bertha 1
 Schweid, Julius¹¹³ 9
 Seidel, Dr. Herman 6
 Seidelman, Hyman M. 4
 Seifert, Joseph I. 1
 Seld, Howard D.¹¹⁴ 4
 Shapiro, Rabbi David 1
 Shapiro, Ezra Z. 4
 Shoulson, Rabbi Isadore H.¹¹⁵ 4
 Shulman, Mrs. Herman 4
 Shwadran, Dr. Benjamin 6
 Siegel, William I. 2
 Sievers, Samuel I. 2
 Silk, Rabbi Morris G. 9
 Silver, Dr. Abba Hillel 4
 Silverberg, Max J. 6, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Silverstein, Rabbi Ralph¹¹⁶ 1
 Simsovitz, Rabbi Louis 9
 Slonim, M. J. 1
 Smoller, Rabbi Phineas¹¹⁷ 8
 Sobeloff, Simon E. 1
 Sobeloff, Mrs. Simon E.¹¹⁸ 7, *Baltimore, Md.*
 Sokal, Dr. Saul¹¹⁹ 6
 Spicehandler, Abraham 1
 Stanton, Alex F. 5
 Stanton, Mrs. Fannie¹²⁰ 5
 Stein, Elijah 9, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Steir, Joseph¹²¹ 2
 Stern, Adolph 1, *New York City*
 Stern, Hermann 1
 Stern, Rabbi Mordecai A. 9
 Strimling, Theodore 4
 Strull, Charles 7
 Summer, Gertrude 9, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Sussman, Herbert B. 1
 Swickow, Rabbi Louis J. 1
 Szold, Robert 4
 Szold, Mrs. Robert 4, *Pelham, N. Y.*
 Tabak, Dr. Israel 9
 Talamo, Joseph 4
 Teitelbaum, Emanuel 1

Delegate from²

Pioneer Women's Organization of America
 American Jewish Congress—
 Women's Division
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Bridgeton, N. J. (Region)
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Cleveland, Ohio
 Baltimore, Md. (Region)
 Milwaukee, Wis.
 Boston, Mass.
 Utica, N. Y. (Region)
 Madison, Wis. (Region)
 Cleveland, Ohio
 West Chester, Pa. (Region)
 Bronx, N. Y.
 Jersey City, N. J.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 St. Louis, Mo.
 Providence, R. I. (Region)
 Cleveland, Ohio
 Poale Zion — Zeire Zion
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Post Chester, N. Y. (Region)
 St. Louis, Mo.
 Chicago, Ill.
 Baltimore, Md. (Region)
 National Council of Jewish Women
 New York, N. Y.
 Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 Philadelphia, Pa.
 National Council of Young Israel
 Newark, N. J.
 Independent Order Brith Abraham
 New York, N. Y.
 Queens, N. Y.
 Los Angeles, Calif.
 Louisville, Ky.
 Youth Organizations
 New York, N. Y.
 Milwaukee, Wis.
 New Rochelle, N. Y.
 Hadassah
 Baltimore, Md. (Region)
 Worcester, Mass.
 Johnstown, Pa. (Region)

¹¹² Alternate for Dvorah Rothbard

¹¹³ Alternate for Rabbi Israel Porath

¹¹⁴ Alternate for David Geffen

¹¹⁵ Alternate for Mark Sugarman

¹¹⁶ Alternate for Elias Ginsburg

¹¹⁷ Alternate for Harry N. Gottlieb

¹¹⁸ Replacing Mrs. Karl J. Kaufmann

¹¹⁹ Alternate for Isaac Hamlin

¹²⁰ Alternate for Sol Ferleger

¹²¹ Alternate for Rabbi David H. Wice

Name of Delegate¹

Teitelbaum, Isidor 1
 Teitz, Rabbi Pinchas M. 5
 Tiber, Mrs. Leon J. 4
 Untermann, John J. 2
 Vixman, Mrs. A. H. 1, *Long Island City, N. Y.*
 Waldman, N. Ben-Dov 4, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Wechsler, Ralph 6
 Weingrod, Morris 6
 Weisman, Mrs. Hyman C.¹²² 2, *St. Louis, Mo.*
 Weiss, Aaron 4
 Wertheim, David 6
 Wexler, Dr. William A.¹²³ 2
 White, Rabbi Saul E. 4
 Wise, Rabbi Aaron M.¹²⁴ 4
 Wise, Dr. Stephen S. 1
 Wohl, Rabbi Samuel 1
 Wohlgelernter, Rabbi Max J. 9
 Wolfe, Jack¹²⁵ 2
 Wolfson, Mrs. Benjamin I.¹²⁶ 9, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Yavitz, Mrs. Philip M.¹²⁷ 4
 Zambrowsky, Rabbi Seymour M. 9

Delegate from²

Bronx, N. Y.
 Elizabeth, N. J.
 Los Angeles, Calif.
 Newark, N. J.
 American Jewish Congress—
 Women's Division
 B'nai Zion
 Newark, N. J.
 Milwaukee, Wis.
 B'nai B'rith—Women's Supreme Council
 Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
 New York, N. Y.
 Savannah, Ga. (Region)
 San Francisco, Calif.
 Schenectady, N. Y.
 New York, N. Y.
 Cincinnati, Ohio
 Detroit, Mich.
 Des Moines, Iowa
 Mizrahi Women's Organization of America
 Chicago, Ill.
 Cleveland, Ohio

¹²² Replacing Mrs. Albert A. Woldman

¹²³ Alternate for Judge Emanuel Lewis

¹²⁴ Alternate for Joseph Goodman

¹²⁵ Alternate for Ellis I. Levitt

¹²⁶ Alternate for Mrs. S. Rabinowitz

¹²⁷ Alternate for Samuel Wolberg

APPENDIX

NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Participating in the Third Session of the American Jewish Conference
Convened February 17, 1946

HOTEL CLEVELAND, Cleveland, Ohio

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>American Association for Jewish Education American Federation of Jews from Central Europe American Federation for Polish Jews, Inc. American Jewish Congress American Jewish Congress—Women's Division *Bessarabian Federation of American Jews, Inc. B'nai B'rith B'nai B'rith—Women's Supreme Council B'nai Zion Central Conference of American Rabbis Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations *Federation of Palestine Jews of America Free Sons of Israel Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America Hapoel Hamizrachi of America Hashomer Hatzair Histadruth Ivrit, Inc. Independent Order Brith Abraham Independent Order Brith Sholom Independent Order Brith Sholom of Baltimore Jewish National Workers' Alliance Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the I.W.O. Jewish War Veterans Jewish War Veterans—National Ladies Auxiliary League for Labor Palestine Mizrachi Organization of America Mizrachi Women's Organization of America National Association of Jewish Center Workers National Council for Jewish Education National Council of Jewish Women National Council of Young Israel</p> | <p>National Federation of Hebrew Teachers National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the United Synagogue of America National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America Pioneer Women's Organization of America Poale Zion—Zeire Zion Progressive Order of the West Rabbinical Assembly of America Rabbinical Council of America *Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity¹ Union of American Hebrew Congregations Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations—Women's Branch Union of Sephardic Congregations, Inc. United Galician Jews of America United Romanian Jews of America United Synagogue of America Yiddish P.E.N. Club Yiddish Writers Union Zionist Organization of America <i>Youth Organizations</i> Avukah A.Z.A. of B'nai B'rith Habonim Hashomer Hadati Hillel Foundation Junior Hadassah Junior Mizrachi Women's Organization Masada National Council of Jewish Juniors National Federation of Temple Youth Young People's League of the United Synagogue of America</p> |
|--|---|

* Organizations admitted into American Jewish Conference at the Third Session.

¹ See Footnote, page 69.

RULES of PROCEDURE

CONCERNING DELEGATES and ALTERNATES

ADOPTED by the COMMITTEE on CREDENTIALS

and Approved by the Interim Committee, January 28, 1946

The rules which governed the previous Sessions shall apply at the Third Session, with one exception.¹

I. *Delegates Notifying Their Inability to Attend the Third Session*

1. Upon receipt of advice from the delegate that he is unable to attend the Third Session, the Committee on Credentials will presume that a vacancy exists.
2. It is not the function of this Committee to inquire into the reason for the delegate's decision not to attend; nor should this Committee attempt to persuade any delegate to change his decision.
3. The Committee shall notify the delegate of the rules governing the filling of vacancies, a copy of such communication to be sent to the chairman of the local election committee; and it shall otherwise, consistently and with dispatch, follow through each vacancy until it is filled in accordance with the rules.
4. The deadline for filling vacancies shall be, as specified in the Rules of Election, "no later than 5 days preceding the Conference." However, the Secretary of this Committee shall endeavor to obtain action as far in advance of the deadline as possible.¹
5. Acceptable proof of the appointment of an alternate shall be a written statement (on a form to be supplied by this Committee) from the chairman of the local election committee, verifying such appointment in accordance with the Rules.

II. *Interpretation of Rules of Election to the First Session of the Conference and their Application to the Appointment of Alternates to the Third Session*

1. No provision has been made for new elections; therefore, whenever the question arises locally, this Committee will rule that no new elections may be held.
2. Whenever the record shows that there were candidates on the ballot who were not elected, the resigning delegate (or the local election committee) must choose his alternate from among the defeated candidates who were nominated by the same groups or organizations as was the said delegate.

¹ The deadline for filling vacancies is changed to ten days.

3. Whenever the record shows that among the defeated candidates there is none who was nominated by the same organizations or groups as was the resigning delegate, the groups or organizations that nominated the said delegate must name an alternate; this alternate may be one of the defeated candidates or one who has not been a candidate for election to the First Session.
4. Whenever the record shows that there was only one candidate on the ballot, and that no alternate was elected at the time of balloting, the organizations or groups that nominated said delegate must nominate an alternate to attend the Third Session. The local election committee must certify the new nominations.
5. Whenever the record shows that an alternate had been elected at the time of balloting, such alternate shall be entitled to substitute for the delegate.

RULES of PROCEDURE

THIRD SESSION of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

I. General Rule

The same rules of procedure as prevailed at the previous Sessions shall be valid for the Third Session, unless amended.¹

II. Group Formation

The principle of group formation within the Conference shall be continued.

III. Changes in Group Adherence

Unless notice is given in writing before Friday noon, February 15th, delegates shall continue to be registered in their present blocs and alternates in the blocs to which the original delegates belong.

IV. Committees

The Committee on General Resolutions shall be abolished and the General Committee shall be asked to appoint a subcommittee to draft and edit resolutions before their submission to the Plenary Meeting. The Post-War and Rescue Committees shall be consolidated and discuss relevant problems jointly.

The composition of the committees shall be based on the number of delegates registered in each bloc rather than on the number in actual attendance at the Session. Unless a group requests a change, each delegate shall remain on the same committee as last year and this shall apply to alternates or new delegates who shall be assigned to their predecessors' places, and members of abolished committees shall be assigned to other committees.

V. Presentation of Resolutions

1. The General Committee shall act as the administrative agency for the distribution of all resolutions to the appropriate standing committees, except that if the General Committee shall find a resolution irrelevant to the Call of the American Jewish Conference, it shall, upon the request of at least ten members of the General Committee or not less than fifty delegates to the Conference, report such decision to the Plenum and the question before the Plenum shall be on the adoption of the General Committee's report.

2. The chairmen of all standing committees shall be advised that whenever a question of relevancy arises in the consideration of resolutions by their committees, they shall seek an advisory opinion from the General Committee before passing on such resolutions.

3. Any ten members in any standing committee of the Conference may bring up a minority report for consideration in the Plenum of the Conference;

¹ The Rules of Procedure of the First Session are printed in the *Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference, First Session, 1943*, pp. 357-360.

and any fifty delegates, not members of the committee, may bring out of committee a resolution defeated there and have it placed before the Plenum of the Conference.

VI. *Rules of Order*

The rule of the First Session governing appeals from the Chair is hereby repealed. In all matters of procedure Roberts Rules of Order shall prevail, unless otherwise stipulated by the Rules of this Conference.

NUMBER of DELEGATES
to the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
ELECTED in EACH CITY and REGION
MAY-JULY, 1943

| State | City ¹ or Region | No. of Organi- zations | No. of Candi- dates on Ballot | No. of Ballots Cast ² | No. of Dele- gates Elected |
|-------------------|--|------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| ALABAMA | <i>City:</i> Birmingham | 16 | 2 | 56 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 29 | 3 | 14 | 1 |
| ARKANSAS | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 5 | 1 | 15 | 1 |
| CALIFORNIA | <i>Cities:</i> Los Angeles | 251 | 34 | 651 | 11 |
| | Oakland | 21 | 3 | 62 | 1 |
| | San Francisco | 36 | 13 | 187 | 4 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Southern Calif. ... | 20 | 3 | 35 | 1 |
| | Northern Calif. ... | 33 | 3 | 59 | 1 |
| COLORADO | <i>Region:</i> Entire State & Wyo. | 54 | 7 | 198 | 2 |
| CONNECTICUT | <i>Cities:</i> Bridgeport | 26 | 2 | 55 | 1 |
| | Hartford | 63 | 6 | 231 | 3 |
| | New Haven | 68 | 5 | 196 | 3 |
| | Stamford | 17 | 2 | 42 | 1 |
| | Waterbury | 30 | 4 | 69 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 113 | 4 | 211 | 2 |
| DELAWARE | <i>Region:</i> Wilmington | 27 | 1 | <i>u</i> | 1 |
| DIST. OF COLUMBIA | <i>City:</i> Washington | 61 | 6 | 284 | 3 |
| FLORIDA | <i>Cities:</i> Jacksonville | 14 | 5 | 38 | 1 |
| | Miami | 35 | 11 | 91 | 2 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 11 | 1 | 16 | 1 |
| GEORGIA | <i>City:</i> Atlanta | 20 | 3 | 79 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 22 | 3 | 98 | 1 |
| ILLINOIS | <i>City:</i> Chicago | 521 | 46 | 1,907 | 30 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Part of State | 78 | 1 | 115 | 1 |
| INDIANA | <i>City:</i> Indianapolis | 46 | 2 | 128 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 91 | 8 | 148 | 1 |
| IOWA | <i>City:</i> Des Moines | 32 | 3 | 59 | 1 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Sioux City | 18 | 4 | 57 | 1 |
| | Rest of State and Part of Ill. | 51 | 2 | 83 | 1 |
| KANSAS | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 10 | 1 | 21 | 1 |

¹ City is the same as Election District.

² The number of ballots cast is equal to that of the electors. Each elector could cast as many votes as the number of candidates to be elected in his city or region.

u Unanimous.

p.e. Popular election.

v Votes.

& Includes also other localities.

m Mail vote.

| State | City ¹ or Region | No. of Organi- zations | No. of Candi- dates on Ballot | No. of Ballots Cast ² | No. of Dele- gates Elected |
|---------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| KENTUCKY | <i>City:</i> Louisville | 30 | 12 | 30 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 15 | 14 | 14 | 1 |
| LOUISIANA | <i>City:</i> New Orleans | 26 | 5 | 80 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 15 | 1 | <i>u</i> | 1 |
| MAINE | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 39 | 3 | 72 | 1 |
| MARYLAND | <i>Region:</i> Baltimore | | | | |
| | (Entire State) ... | 129 | 17 | 477 | 7 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | <i>Cities:</i> Boston | 200 | 25 | 796 | 13 |
| | Chelsea | 34 | 4 | 195 | 2 |
| | Lynn | 32 | 1 | 66 | 1 |
| | Malden | 41 | 2 | 81 | 1 |
| | Springfield | 42 | 5 | 85 | 1 |
| | Worcester | <i>p.e.</i> | 2 | 1,084 ^v | 1 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Central, Western | | | | |
| | and Southern | 20 | 3 | 46 | 1 |
| | Northern | 56 | 2 | 100 | 1 |
| | New Bedford & ... | 52 | 3 | 88 | 3 |
| MICHIGAN | <i>City:</i> Detroit | 147 | 54 | 521 | 10 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 50 | 5 | 71 | 1 |
| MINNESOTA | <i>Cities:</i> Minneapolis | 62 | 4 | 212 | 2 |
| | St. Paul | 57 | 3 | 155 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 49 | 6 | 77 | 1 |
| MISSISSIPPI | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 41 | 7 | 41 ^m | 1 |
| MISSOURI | <i>Cities:</i> Kansas City | 53 | 5 | 172 | 3 |
| | St. Louis | 145 | 18 | 526 | 6 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 39 | 2 | <i>m</i> | 1 |
| MONTANA | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | .. | 1 | <i>u</i> | 1 |
| NEBRASKA | <i>City:</i> Omaha | 41 | 3 | 117 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 6 | 2 | 7 | 1 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 20 | 1 | 20 | 1 |
| NEW JERSEY | <i>Cities:</i> Atlantic City | 39 | 2 | 109 | 1 |
| | Bayonne | 27 | 1 | 66 | 1 |
| | Camden | 31 | 5 | 66 | 1 |
| | Elizabeth | 39 | 3 | 83 | 1 |
| | Jersey City | 61 | 5 | 193 | 2 |
| | Newark | 162 | 26 | 528 | 9 |
| | New Brunswick | 32 | 3 | 42 | 1 |
| | Passaic | 41 | 2 | 52 | 1 |
| | Paterson | 62 | 5 | 165 | 2 |
| | Perth Amboy | 30 | 2 | 60 | 1 |
| | Trenton | 38 | 2 | 101 | 1 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Bergen County | 41 | 10 | 62 | 1 |
| | North Hudson | 50 | 5 | 94 | 1 |
| | Ocean & Monmouth | 24 | 2 | 73 | 1 |
| | Plainfield & | 24 | 6 | 62 | 1 |
| | Southern | 16 | 1 | 27 | 1 |
| NEW YORK | <i>Cities:</i> Albany | 42 | 1 | 111 | 1 |
| | Buffalo | 57 | 11 | 186 | 2 |
| | Mt. Vernon | 32 | 2 | 86 | 1 |
| | New Rochelle | 19 | 3 | 58 | 1 |
| | Rochester | 47 | 5 | 162 | 2 |

| State | City ¹ or Region | No. of Organi- zations | No. of Candi- dates on Ballot | No. of Ballots Cast ² | No. of Dele- gates Elected |
|---|---|------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| NEW YORK—Cont. | <i>Cities:</i> Syracuse | 31 | 8 | 74 | 2 |
| | Yonkers | 29 | 8 | 73 | 1 |
| | Bronx (Boro, N.Y.C.) .. | 357 | 43 | 793 | 25 |
| | Brooklyn (Boro, N.Y.C.) .. | 574 | 69 | 1,397 | 40 |
| | Manhattan (Boro, N.Y.C.) .. | 825 | 28 | 2,502 | 28 |
| | Queens (Boro, N.Y.C.) .. | 130 | 16 | 334 | 8 |
| | Richmond (Boro, N.Y.C.) .. | 18 | 2 | 18 | 1 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Nassau-Suffolk | 88 | 7 | 238 | 4 |
| | Newburgh & | 69 | 3 | 98 | 1 |
| | Peekskill & | 34 | 2 | 55 | 1 |
| | Port Chester & | 14 | 6 | 35 | 1 |
| | Schenectady-Troy & .. | 53 | 5 | 87 | 1 |
| | Utica & | 14 | 4 | 25 | 1 |
| | White Plains & | 17 | 2 | 37 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 54 | 2 | 83 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Both States | 25 | 3 | 25 | 1 |
| | <i>Cities:</i> Akron | 30 | 4 | 58 | 1 |
| | Canton | 18 | 1 | 29 | 1 |
| | Cincinnati | 52 | 5 | 223 | 2 |
| NORTH CAROLINA NO. & SO. DAKOTA OHIO | Cleveland | 142 | 26 | 570 | 9 |
| | Columbus | 30 | 1 | 90 | 1 |
| | Dayton | 19 | 3 | 19 | 1 |
| | Toledo | 28 | 1 | 69 | 1 |
| | Youngstown | 30 | 1 | 74 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 56 | 4 | 56 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 25 | 2 | 58 | 1 |
| | <i>City:</i> Portland | 35 | 4 | 88 | 1 |
| | <i>Cities:</i> Harrisburg | 20 | 2 | 20 | 1 |
| | McKeesport | 12 | 1 | 30 | 1 |
| | Philadelphia | 432 | 64 | 1,193 | 22 |
| OKLAHOMA OREGON PENNSYLVANIA | Pittsburgh | 103 | 8 | 431 | 6 |
| | Scranton | 22 | 1 | 22 | 1 |
| | Wilkes-Barre | 34 | 2 | 86 | 1 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Eastern and Central. | 57 | 5 | 78 | 1 |
| | Southeastern | 32 | 3 | 96 | 1 |
| | Tri-City | 39 | 2 | 75 | 1 |
| | Western | 93 | 51 | 126m | 2 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 95 | 11 | 307 | 3 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 20 | 2 | 26 | 1 |
| | <i>Cities:</i> Memphis | 25 | 2 | 86 | 1 |
| | Nashville | 14 | 1 | 18 | 1 |
| RHODE ISLAND SOUTH CAROLINA TENNESSEE | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 14 | 2 | 30 | 1 |
| | <i>Cities:</i> Dallas | 24 | 5 | 91 | 1 |
| | Houston | 27 | 7 | 83 | 1 |
| | San Antonio | 24 | 2 | 53 | 1 |
| | <i>Regions:</i> Austin & | 22 | 1 | 22m | 1 |
| | Ft. Worth & | 50 | 1 | 50m | 1 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| TEXAS | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

| State | City ¹ or Region | No. of Organi- zations | No. of Candi- dates on Ballot | No. of Ballots Cast ² | No. of Dele- gates Elected |
|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| UTAH | <i>Region:</i> Utah, Ariz. and N. Mex. | 6 | 1 | 13 | 1 |
| VERMONT | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 8 | 2 | 26 | 1 |
| VIRGINIA | <i>Cities:</i> Norfolk | 46 | 3 | 88 | 1 |
| | Richmond | 18 | 2 | 57 | 1 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 28 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
| WASHINGTON | <i>City:</i> Seattle | 32 | 5 | 101 | 2 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State and Idaho, Nev. and Oreg. (except Portland) | c | 1 | " | 1 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | <i>Region:</i> Entire State | 64 | 4 | 90 | 1 |
| WISCONSIN | <i>City:</i> Milwaukee | 74 | 5 | 248 | 3 |
| | <i>Region:</i> Rest of State | 80 | 9 | 90 | 1 |
| Total: 77 Cities; 59 Regions | | 8,486 | 968 | 22,500 ³ | 379 ⁴ |

³ Total number of ballots, not including 1,084 votes of Worcester, Mass., mail votes in Mo., and unanimous nominations.

⁴ 116 community delegates did not attend the Third Session, and had no alternates.

⁵ Including 13 cities.

ROSTER of DELEGATES

Elected by City or Region or Designated by National Organizations

A. Delegates Elected by Cities and Regions

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Isaac Abelson

Rest of State, Region (Birmingham)¹

*William P. Bloom

ARIZONA (See Utah)

ARKANSAS

Entire State, Region (Little Rock)

*Rabbi Ira E. Sanders

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

*David Coleman

*David Familian²

Leib Glantz

Rabbi Jacob Kohn³

Dr. Max Nussbaum

Aaron Riche

*Mrs. Ben Rosenthal

Dr. Nathan S. Saltzman⁴

Theodore Strimling

Mrs. Leon J. Tiber

*Rabbi Osher Zilberstein

Oakland

Harry J. Sapper⁵

San Francisco

Mrs. Arthur A. Barnett⁶

*Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel

Jefferson E. Peyser

Rabbi Saul E. White

No. Calif., Region (Sacramento)

*Louis Juren

So. Calif., Region (San Diego)

*Judge Jacob Weinberger

COLORADO

Entire State and Wyo. Region (Denver)

*Rabbi C. Hillel Kauvar

*Rabbi Manuel Laderman

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport

Judge Samuel Mellitz

Hartford

*Abraham Goldstein

*Rabbi I. Solomon Rosenberg

*Rabbi Morris Silverman

New Haven

Rabbi Louis Greenberg⁷

*Max Livingston

Louis Sachs

Stamford

Rabbi David W. Pearlman

Waterbury

Charles Rosengarten

Rest of State, Region (New Britain)

*George L. Gans

*Samuel Umansky

DELAWARE

Entire State, Region (Wilmington)

*Philip Cohen

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington

Hymen Goldman

Edmund I. Kaufman⁸

Rabbi Moshe H. Levinson

FLORIDA

Jacksonville

Abe Newman

* Absent from Third Session—no alternate

¹ City mentioned with Region is the center where the election conference for the Region was held.

² Deceased since Session

³ Jacob Alkow, Alternate

⁴ Mrs. Rebecca Goldberg, Alternate

⁵ Rabbi Philip A. Langh, Alternate

⁶ Resigned after Session

⁷ Deceased since Session; Rabbi Samuel Levenberg, Alternate at Session

⁸ Dr. Sidney Marks, Alternate

Miami

*Rabbi Max Shapiro

*Harry Simonhoff

Rest of State, Region (Tampa)

*D. J. Apte

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Rabbi Harry H. Epstein

Rest of State, Region (Savannah)

Judge Emanuel Lewis⁹

IDAHO (See State of Washington)

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Mrs. Robert L. Aronson

Mrs. Harry Berkman

Rabbi Benjamin H. Birnbaum

Max Bressler

Judge Oscar S. Caplan¹⁰

Sigmund W. David

Dr. Albert K. Epstein

Rabbi Ephraim Epstein

Judge Harry M. Fisher

Pearl Franklin

Harry N. Gottlieb¹¹

Max A. Kopstein

Milton J. Krensky

Mrs. Felix A. Levy

Sigmund Livingston¹²

Leo H. Lowitz

Dr. Louis L. Mann¹³

Albert F. Mecklenburger¹⁴

Benjamin I. Morris

Mrs. Aron Osri

Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut

*Dr. Herman M. Pomrenze

Dr. David Rebelsky¹⁵

H. B. Ritman

Dr. Bernard Rodin¹⁶

Joseph Rolnick¹⁷

Dr. David Sacks

Benjamin Samuels

*Rabbi Saul Silber¹⁸

Samuel Wolberg¹⁹

Central Ill., Region (Peoria)

Dr. Abram L. Sachar²⁰

INDIANA

Indianapolis

*Daniel Frisch

Rest of State, Region (Lafayette)

Jacob H. Gilbert²¹

IOWA

Des Moines

Ellis I. Levitt²²

Sioux City, Region

Rabbi Hyman R. Rabinowitz

Rest of State and No. Ill., Region (Davenport)

*Ad Estess

KANSAS

Entire State, Region

Joseph Cohen

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Charles Strull

Rest of State, Region (Lexington)

Mrs. Hugo Bloomfield

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

*Isaac S. Heller

Rest of State, Region (Shreveport)

*Sidney L. Herold

MAINE

Entire State, Region (Portland)

*Philip W. Lown

MARYLAND

Entire State, Region (Baltimore)

Howard A. Burman

Dr. Nathan Drazin

Hon. Daniel Ellison²³

Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt²⁴

Dr. Herman Seidel

Simon E. Sobeloff

Dr. Israel Tabak

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

*Judge Jennie Loitman Barron

Judge Lewis Goldberg²⁵

Isadore Kagan

*Samuel Kalesky

*Benjamin George Leve

*Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman

Rabbi H. Leon Masovetsky

*Jacob Rabinovitz

Judge David A. Rose

¹⁸ Deceased since Session

¹⁹ Mrs. Philip M. Yavitz, Alternate

²⁰ Harry A. Frankel, Alternate

²¹ Replacing Maurice Tucker

²² Jack Wolfe, Alternate

²³ Replacing Dr. Louis L. Kaplan

²⁴ Rabbi Benjamin G. Axelman, Alternate

²⁵ Mrs. Jacob M. Hurwitz, Alternate

⁹ Dr. William A. Wexler, Alternate

¹⁰ Ben Zion Glass, Alternate

¹¹ Rabbi Phineas Smoller, Alternate

¹² Deceased since Session; Lou Harrison, Alternate

¹³ Leo S. Samuels, Alternate

¹⁴ Dr. Felix A. Levy, Alternate

¹⁵ Henry Dubow, Alternate

¹⁶ Louis M. Sandler, Alternate

¹⁷ Charles Mishkin, Alternate

Joseph I. Seifert
 *Chaplain Joseph S. Shubow
 *Elihu D. Stone
 David M. Watchmaker²⁶
Chelsea
 *Rabbi Sidney S. Guthman²⁷
 Ruben H. Klainer
Lynn
 Eli A. Cohen
Malden
 George D. Rossyn
Springfield
 Harry M. Ehrlich
Worcester
 Joseph Talamo
Central, Western and Southern Region
(Greenfield)
 Harry Levine²⁸
New Bedford & ²⁹ Region (Taunton)
 *Judge Samuel Barnet
 *Louis Hornstein
 *Dewey D. Stone
Northern Region (Lawrence)
 Frank Goldman

MICHIGAN

Detroit
 *Chaplain Morris Adler
 Fred M. Butzel³⁰
 Aaron Droock
 Mrs. Joseph H. Ehrlich
 Rabbi Leon Fram
 *Dr. B. Benedict Glazer
 Aaron Rosenberg
 Morris L. Schaver³¹
 Daniel Temchin³²
 Rabbi Max J. Wohlgelernter
Rest of State, Region (Grand Rapids)
 Rabbi Jerome D. Folkman

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis
 Rabbi David Aronson
 Dr. Moses Barron
St. Paul
 Mrs. Harry Rosenthal
Rest of State, Region (Duluth)
 David L. Goldenberg

MISSISSIPPI

Entire State, Region
 *Rabbi Samuel A. Rabinowitz

MISSOURI

Kansas City
 *Jacob Brown
 *Irvin Fane
 Mrs. Ernest Peiser
St. Louis
 Israel R. Goodman
 Dr. Julius Gordon
 Morris Jick
 Morris Shapiro³³
 Samuel I. Sievers
 M. J. Slonim
Rest of State, Region (St. Joseph)
 *Louis Kranitz

MONTANA

Entire State, Region (Butte)
 *Dr. S. S. Steinberg

NEBRASKA

Omaha
 Rabbi David A. Goldstein³⁴
Rest of State, Region (Lincoln)
 *Chaplain Harry Jolt
NEVADA (See State of Washington)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Entire State, Region (Manchester)
 Abraham Machinist

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City
 *Joseph Halbert
Bayonne
 *Edward Berman
Camden
 Rabbi Naftoly N. H. J. Riff
Elizabeth
 Rabbi Pinchas M. Teitz
Jersey City
 Dr. Berthold S. Pollak
 Dr. Benjamin Shwadran

Newark

Nathan H. Brodsky
 Oscar Chinich
 *Joel Gross
 Harry A. Pine
 *Dr. Joachim Prinz
 *Mrs. Michael A. Stavitsky
 John J. Untermann
 Ralph Wechsler
 Rabbi David H. Wice³⁵
New Brunswick
 Harry S. Feller

²⁶ Mrs. H. Leon Masovetsky, Alternate

²⁷ Resigned after Session

²⁸ Harry A. Glovsky, Alternate

²⁹ &—Includes also other localities

³⁰ Charles Rubiner, Alternate

³¹ Max Chafets, Alternate

³² Irving W. Schlusel, Alternate

³³ Rabbi Abraham E. Halpern, Alternate

³⁴ Philip M. Klutznick, Alternate

³⁵ Joseph Steir, Alternate

Passaic

Joseph A. Feder³⁶

Paterson

Rabbi Bezalel Cohen³⁷

*Abe J. Greene

Perth Amboy

*Judge Harry S. Medinets

Trenton

Israel Kramer

Bergen County, Region (Hackensack)

Howard Mack³⁸

North Hudson, Region (Union City)

Samuel Harber

Ocean-Monmouth, Region (Lakewood)

Charles Frankel

Plainfield, Region

Edward Sachar³⁹

Southern, Region (Bridgeton)

Max C. Schrank

NEW MEXICO (See Utah)

NEW YORK

Albany

Samuel E. Aronowitz

Buffalo

Ernest S. Freudenheim⁴⁰

Emil Rubenstein

Mt. Vernon

Rabbi Max Maccoby

New Rochelle

Robert Szold

Rochester

Dr. Philip S. Bernstein⁴¹

Joseph Goldstein⁴²

Syracuse

*J. Leo Feigenbaum

*Bernard G. Rudolph

Yonkers

A. Arthur Pekelner

Nassau-Suffolk, Region (Lynbrook)

*Norman M. Beck

Max Doft

Mrs. Samuel Golding⁴³

Mrs. Mortimer J. Kroll

Newburgh & Region (Walden)

Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom

Peekskill & Region

Sevmour R. Levine

Port Chester & Region

Rabbi Louis Simsovit

Schenectady & Region

Joseph Goodman⁴⁴

Utica & Region

David Geffen⁴⁵

White Plains & Region

*Herman L. Weisman

New York City—Bronx

Hon. Benjamin Antin⁴⁶

*Meyer Brown

Rabbi J. M. Charlop

Samuel Duker

Dr. Simon Federbush

Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig⁴⁷

Rabbi Joseph Gabriel

*Herman S. Gelbin

*Dr. Abraham Grossman

*Rabbi Mayer I. Herman

*Abraham I. Kirschenbaum

Halpern Leivick⁴⁸

Dr. Harris J. Levine

Chaplain Israel Miller

Mrs. Blanche Mogil

*Rabbi S. Morduchowitz

Henry J. Perahia⁴⁹

*David Pinski

Rabbi Solomon Reichman

Dr. Louis Rosenblum⁵⁰

Max J. Schneider⁵¹

Rabbi Henry A. Schorr

Bertha Schwartz

Mrs. Herman Shulman

Isidor Teitelbaum

New York City—Brooklyn

*A. David Benjamin

Samuel Berson

*Samuel Bisgver

*Gedaliah Bublick

*Rabbi Aaron D. Burack

Jesse Cohen

Nathan Dinkes

*Jacob Dobzinsky

H. Ehrenreich

*Dr. Miriam K. Freund

Charles Getzler

Philip M. Gingold

Elias Ginsburg⁵²

Mrs. Israel Goldstein

*Samuel Goldstein

*Abraham Goodman

³⁶ William N. Gurtman, Alternate

³⁷ Mrs. Bezalel Cohen, Alternate

³⁸ Abraham Chazin, Alternate

³⁹ Henry Rosenbaum, Alternate

⁴⁰ Replacing Hon. David Diamond

⁴¹ Dr. Joseph Diamond, Alternate

⁴² Reuben Goldman, Alternate

⁴³ Benjamin J. Doft, Alternate

⁴⁴ Rabbi Aaron M. Wise, Alternate

⁴⁵ Howard D. Seld, Alternate

⁴⁶ Meyer Helfinstein, Alternate

⁴⁷ Louis Rosensweig, Alternate

⁴⁸ Morris Goldsmith, Alternate

⁴⁹ Mrs. Dorothy Gattegno, Alternate

⁵⁰ Morris Margulies, Alternate

⁵¹ Jacob Alson, Alternate

⁵² Rabbi Ralph Silverstein, Alternate

Morris Goodman⁵³
 * Archie H. Greenberg
 Judge Emanuel Greenberg⁵⁴
 Louis J. Gribetz
 * Rabbi Harry Halpern
 * Moses H. Hoenig
 Mrs. Joseph Horowitz⁵⁵
 Jacob Ish-Kishor
 Abraham Krumbein
 * Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal
 Herman Neaderland
 * Dr. C. Aaron Pinta
 Abraham A. Redelheim
 * Jochanan I. Rudavsky
 * Hon. Albert D. Schanzer
 Mrs. Abraham Shapiro⁵⁶
 William I. Siegel
 Edward S. Silver⁵⁷
 Kieve Skidell⁵⁸
 Abraham Spicehandler
 Mrs. Benjamin Spitzer⁵⁹
 Justice Meier Steinbrink⁶⁰
 * Hon. Ruth Warters
 Morris A. Zeldin⁶¹
New York City—Manhattan
 Rabbi Bernard Bergman
 * Jacob Brown
 Samuel Caplan⁶²
 Teddy Cohen⁶³
 Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
 Louis Fabricant⁶⁴
 Jacob Fishman
 Dr. Israel Goldstein
 Hayim Greenberg
 Mrs. Joseph Hamerman
 Isaac Hamlin⁶⁵
 Herman Hoffman⁶⁶
 * Rabbi Jacob Hoffman
 Louis Lipsky
 Dr. Samuel Margoshes⁶⁷
 Judge Nathan D. Perlman
 Mrs. Nathan D. Perlman
 Herman Zwi Quittman⁶⁸
 William Rabkin⁶⁹
 Judge Morris Rothenberg⁷⁰
 Louis Segal⁷¹

- ⁵³ Replacing Baruch Zuckerman
⁵⁴ Maurice Bernhardt, Alternate
⁵⁵ Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Alternate
⁵⁶ Mrs. Nathan B. Fischer, Alternate
⁵⁷ Mrs. Estelle Dinkes, Alternate
⁵⁸ Leon Rubinstein, Alternate
⁵⁹ Mrs. Irving J. Sands, Alternate
⁶⁰ Alvin Rosenson, Alternate
⁶¹ Rabbi Maxwell L. Sachs, Alternate
⁶² Replacing Hon. Carl Sherman
⁶³ Mr. Cohen has since died. Dr. A. Leon
 Kubowitzki, Alternate
⁶⁴ Samuel Markle, Alternate

Hermann Stern
 Herbert B. Sussman
 * Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum
 David Wertheim
 Harry N. Wessel⁷²
 Dr. Stephen S. Wise
 * Mrs. Stephen S. Wise
New York City—Queens
 Mrs. Jules Blankfein
 Chaplain Ben Zion Bokser
 Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
 * Mordecai Konowitz
 Jacob Marrus
 Rabbi Irving Miller
 Rabbi Arthur H. Neulander⁷³
 Rabbi Mordecai A. Stern
New York City—Richmond
 Max Levy

NORTH CAROLINA
Entire State, Region (Greensboro)
 E. J. Evans⁷⁴

NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA
Both States, Region (Fargo)
 * Hon. Harry Lashkowitz

OHIO

Akron

Samuel Friedman

Canton

Reuben F. Jacobson

Cincinnati

* Herbert R. Bloch
 Rabbi Samuel Wohl

Cleveland

Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner
 Mrs. Julius Fryer
 Philmore J. Haber
 Mrs. Louis Kaufman
 Rabbi Israel Porath⁷⁵
 Rabbi Rudolph M. Rosenthal
 Ezra Z. Shapiro
 Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
 Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky

Columbus

Albert Schiff⁷⁶

- ⁵³ Dr. Saul Sokal, Alternate
⁵⁴ Abraham H. Hollander, Alternate
⁵⁷ Dr. David Petegorsky, Alternate
⁵⁸ Mrs. Dorothy S. Levine, Alternate
⁶⁰ Replacing Rabbi Harold H. Mashioff (Deceased)
⁷⁰ Mendel N. Fisher, Alternate
⁷¹ Eleanor Levenson, Alternate
⁷² Louis Rittenberg, Alternate. Mr. Wessel resigned;
 no replacement as yet
⁷³ Rabbi Usher Kirshblum, Alternate
⁷⁴ Rabbi Robert P. Jacobs, Alternate
⁷⁵ Julius Schweid, Alternate
⁷⁶ Harry Gilbert, Alternate

Dayton

Leonard S. Becker

Toledo

*J. Eugene Farber

Youngstown

Oscar H. Altschuler

Rest of State, Region (Columbus)

*Samuel Deutsch

OKLAHOMA

Entire State, Region (Okla. City)

*Julius C. Livingston

OREGON

Portland

*Zachary Swett

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Gustav Kaplan⁷⁷

McKeesport

William Moldovan

Philadelphia

Rabbi Solomon M. Barsel

Mrs. Oscar G. Bender

Frank Brown

Sol Ferleger⁷⁸

Prof. Hayim Fineman

*Benjamin Friedman

William M. Gerber

*Abraham N. Gerbovoy

Arnold R. Ginsburg

*Jacob G. Goldblum

Rabbi Simon Greenberg

*Abraham Hofferma

*Jacob B. Hoffman

*Samuel E. Kratzok

David S. Landes

Mrs. Louis E. Levinthal

Mrs. M. J. Lewis

*Joseph Ominsky

*Abraham Silver

Mrs. I. Staller⁷⁹

Alex F. Stanton

*Rabbi Louis Wolsey

Pittsburgh

Rabbi Aaron M. Ashinsky⁸⁰

Walter Burke

Edgar J. Kaufmann⁸¹

Rabbi Benjamin A. Lichter⁸²

*Charles J. Rosenbloom

*Eugene B. Strassburg

Scranton

*A. B. Cohen

Wilkes-Barre

Aaron Weiss

Eastern and Central, Region (Hazleton)

Michael Hanin

South-Eastern, Region (Reading)

Mark Sugarman⁸³

Tri-City, Region (Bethlehem)

*Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg

Western, Region (Butler)

*Mrs. Joseph Recht⁸⁴

Emanuel Teitelbaum

RHODE ISLAND

Entire State, Region (Providence)

*Alter Boyman

Rabbi Morris G. Silk

*Archibald Silverman

SOUTH CAROLINA

Entire State, Region (Columbia)

Hyman Rubin⁸⁵

SOUTH DAKOTA (See North Dakota)

TENNESSEE

Memphis

*Hon. William Gerber

Nashville

Mortimer May

Rest of State, Region (Chattanooga)

*George Berke

TEXAS

Dallas

Eugene M. Solow⁸⁶

Houston

*Joseph Weingarten

San Antonio

Edward Goldberg

Austin & Region

*Prof. Hyman J. Ettlinger

Ft. Worth & Region

*Abraham J. Brachman

UTAH

Entire State, Ariz. and N. Mex., Region (Salt Lake City)

*James L. White

VERMONT

Entire State, Region (Burlington)

Dr. Arthur Gladstone

⁷⁷ Ned Goldberg, Alternate

⁷⁸ Mrs. Fannie Stanton, Alternate

⁷⁹ Mrs. Shoshana Greenberg, Alternate

⁸⁰ Rabbi Bernard A. Poupko, Alternate

⁸¹ Herman Fineberg, Alternate

⁸² Abe R. Cohen, Alternate

⁸³ Rabbi Isadore H. Shoulson, Alternate

⁸⁴ Replacing Rabbi Judah Washer

⁸⁵ Judge Joseph Fromberg, Alternate

⁸⁶ Sam Roback, Alternate

VIRGINIA

Norfolk

Morton Cushner⁸⁷

Richmond

Israel November⁸⁸

Rest of State, Region (Roanoke)

Julius Fisher

WASHINGTON

Seattle

*Morris A. Robbins

*Rabbi Solomon P. Wohlgelemerter

Rest of State and Idaho, Nev. and Oreg.
(except Portland), Region (Spokane)
Rabbi Adolph H. Fink

WEST VIRGINIA

Entire State, Region (Charleston)

Rabbi Samuel Cooper

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Hyman M. Seidelman

Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow

Morris Weingrod

Rest of State, Region (Milwaukee)

Rabbi David Shapiro

B. Delegates Designated by National Organizations

American Federation of Jews from Central Europe

Rudolf Callmann, New York City⁸⁹

American Federation for Polish Jews

Sam Berke, Union City, N. J.

American Jewish Congress

*Rabbi J. X. Cohen, New York City

*Jacob Leichtman, New York City

*Louis Sturz, New York City

American Jewish Congress—Women's Division

Milly Brandt, New York City

Mrs. Anna Center Schneiderman,
New York CityMrs. A. H. Vixman, Long Island
City, N. Y.

Bessarabian Federation of American Jews, Inc.

*Sol Serwitz, New York City

B'nai B'rith

Maurice Bisgyer, Washington, D. C.

Sidney G. Kusworm, Dayton, Ohio

Henry Monsky, Omaha, Nebr.

B'nai B'rith—Women's Supreme Council

Mrs. Ida Cook Farber, Brooklyn,
N. Y.Mrs. Arthur G. Laufman, Chicago,
Ill.Mrs. Hyman C. Weisman, St. Louis,
Mo.⁹⁰

Bnai Zion

Hyman J. Fliegel, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, New
York City

N. Ben-Dov Waldman, New York
City

Central Conference of American Rabbis

Dr. Abraham J. Feldman, Hartford,
Conn.⁹¹*Rabbi Solomon Freehof, Pittsburgh,
Pa.

Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations

*David L. Meckler, New York City

Federation of Palestine Jews of America

Elias A. Moinester, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Free Sons of Israel

Irving Fellerman, New York City

Nathaniel Greenbaum, Brooklyn,
N. Y.

Max Ogust, New York City

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mrs. David deSola Pool, New York
CityMrs. Samuel W. Halprin, New
York City

Mrs. Robert Szold, Pelham, N. Y.

Hapoel Hamizrachi of America

Herzl Rosenson, Chicago, Ill.

Rabbi Israel Schorr, New York
City⁹²

Hashomer Hatzair

Samuel Ben Zvi, New York City⁹³

Histadruth Ivrit

Samuel J. Borowsky, New York
City⁹⁴⁸⁷ Rabbi Eugene Greenfield, Alternate⁸⁸ Louis M. Brodie, Alternate⁸⁹ Herman Muller, Alternate⁹⁰ Replacing Mrs. Albert A. Woldman⁹¹ Replacing James G. Heller⁹² Replacing Isidor Margolis; Mrs. Herzl Rosenson, Alternate at Session⁹³ Replacing Moshe Furmansky⁹⁴ Mordecai Halevi, Alternate

Independent Order Brith Abraham

Harold O. N. Frankel, New York City

Max Silverstein, New York City⁹⁵

Adolph Stern, New York City

Independent Order Brith Sholom

Louis I. Gilgor, Philadelphia, Pa.

Samuel H. Landy, Philadelphia, Pa.⁹⁶

Abe I. Lemberg, Elizabeth, N. J.⁹⁷

Independent Order Brith Sholom of Baltimore

Alexander Goodman, Baltimore, Md.

Jewish Educational Organization (American Association for Jewish Education, National Council for Jewish Education, National Federation of Hebrew Teachers)

Hon. Mark Eisner, New York City⁹⁸

Jewish National Workers' Alliance

Sol Burstein, New York City⁹⁹

Dr. Abraham Margulis, New York City

*Meyer W. Weisgal, New York City

Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the I.W.O.

Albert E. Kahn, Yorktown, N. Y.

Rubin Saltzman, New York City

George Sandler, New York City

Jewish War Veterans

Joseph F. Barr, Washington, D. C.

I. L. Feuer, Youngstown, Ohio¹⁰⁰

J. George Fredman, Jersey City, N. J.

Jewish War Veterans—National Ladies Auxiliary

Mrs. Alice R. Gilman, Malden, Mass.¹⁰¹

Mrs. Jessie C. Gneslin, Brooklyn, N. Y.¹⁰²

Jewish Writers and Journalists (Yiddish P. E. N. Club, Yiddish Writers Union)

Moishe Rivlin, Brooklyn, N. Y.

League for Labor Palestine

Joseph Schlossberg, New York City

Mizrachi Organization of America

Leon Gellman, New York City

Rabbi Max Kirshblum, New York City

Samuel L. Sar, New York City¹⁰³

Mizrachi Women's Organization of America

Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. Lionel Golub, Brooklyn, N. Y.¹⁰⁴

Mrs. S. Rabinowitz, New York City¹⁰⁵

National Association of Jewish Center Workers

Miriam R. Ephraim, Pittsburgh, Pa.¹⁰⁶

National Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. Albert J. May, New York City

Mrs. Simon E. Sobeloff, Baltimore, Md.¹⁰⁷

Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, Detroit, Mich.¹⁰⁸

National Council of Young Israel

Samuel H. Fromberg, New York City¹⁰⁹

*Rabbi Solomon J. Sharfman, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Elijah Stein, Brooklyn, N. Y.

National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the United Synagogue of America

Stanley Garten, New York City¹¹⁰

National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods

Hon. Samuel B. Finkel, New York City

Charles P. Kramer, New York City

S. Herbert Kaufman, Harrisburg, Pa.

⁹⁵ Leon Kay, Alternate

⁹⁶ Replacing Frank A. Simons

⁹⁷ Replacing Frank E. Bernstein

⁹⁸ Dr. Azriel Eisenberg, Alternate

⁹⁹ Aaron Resnick, Alternate

¹⁰⁰ Replacing Samuel Rhodes

¹⁰¹ Replacing Mrs. Bessie Kronberg; Mrs.

Sonia Gordon, Alternate at Session

¹⁰² Mrs. Dorothy Persky, Alternate

¹⁰³ Replacing Rabbi Wolf Gold

¹⁰⁴ Mrs. Joseph H. Lookstein, Alternate

¹⁰⁵ Mrs. Benjamin I. Wolfson, Alternate

¹⁰⁶ Deborah Miller, Alternate

¹⁰⁷ Replacing Mrs. Karl J. Kaufman

¹⁰⁸ Mrs. David Ralph Hertz, Alternate

¹⁰⁹ Replacing Simeon F. Gross

¹¹⁰ Replacing Milton Berger; Rabbi Joel S.

Geffen, Alternate at Session

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods

Jane Evans, New York City
 Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Cincinnati, Ohio¹¹¹
 Mrs. Louis A. Rosett, New Rochelle, N. Y.

National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America

Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman, New York City
 Sarah Kussy, Newark, N. J.¹¹²
 Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, New York City¹¹³

Pioneer Women's Organization of America

Dr. Sara Feder, Columbia, Mo.
 Miriam Gingold, Chicago, Ill.
 Dvorah Rothbard, New York City¹¹⁴

Poale Zion - Zeire Zion

Samuel Bonchek, New York City¹¹⁵
 Dr. Alexander Pekelis, New York City¹¹⁶
 Max J. Silverberg, Bronx, N. Y.

Progressive Order of the West

*Carl M. Dubinsky, St. Louis, Mo.
 *Sol Goldman, St. Louis, Mo.

Rabbinical Assembly of America

Dr. Louis M. Epstein, Brookline, Mass.
 Dr. Robert Gordis, Rockaway Park, N. Y.¹¹⁷

Rabbinical Council of America

*Rabbi William Drazin, Toronto, Canada
 Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, New York City

Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity

Max Perlow, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Maurice Rosenberg, Long Island City, N. Y.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, Cincinnati, Ohio
 *Robert P. Goldman, Cincinnati, Ohio

Adolph Rosenberg, Cincinnati, Ohio¹¹⁸

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations

Dr. Samuel Nirenstein, New York City¹¹⁹
 M. Morton Rubenstein, New York City¹²⁰

*William Weiss, New York City

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations—Women's Branch

Mrs. Isidor Freedman, New York City¹²¹
 Mrs. Elizabeth Isaacs, Yonkers, N. Y.¹²²

Union of Sephardic Congregations

Dr. David deSola Pool, New York City¹²³

United Galician Jews of America

Solomon Kerstein, New York City¹²⁴

United Romanian Jews of America

Joseph Katcher, New York City¹²⁵
 Sol Rosman, New York City¹²⁶

United Synagogue of America

Rep. Herman P. Koppleman, Hartford, Conn.
 Samuel Rothstein, New York City
 Michael Stavitsky, Newark, N. J.¹²⁷

Youth Organizations (Avukah, A.Z.A. of B'nai B'rith, Habonim, Hashomer Hadati, Hillel Foundation, Junior Hadassah, Junior Mizrahi Women's Organization, Masada, National Council of Jewish Juniors, National Federation of Temple Youth, Young People's League of America)

Naomi Chertoff, New York City¹²⁸
 Arthur Gilbert, New York City
 Samuel Melnick, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Gertrude Summer, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Zionist Organization of America

Dr. Leon I. Feuer, Toledo, Ohio¹²⁹
 Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Emanuel Neumann, New York City¹³⁰

¹¹¹ Mrs. Julian Hennig, Alternate

¹¹² Replacing Mrs. Morris Klein

¹¹³ Mrs. Joseph B. Conway, Alternate

¹¹⁴ Mrs. Esther Ida Schmidt, Alternate

¹¹⁵ Dr. I. Milcoff, Alternate

¹¹⁶ Replacing Abraham Revusky (Deceased)

¹¹⁷ Rabbi Armond E. Cohen, Alternate

¹¹⁸ Dr. S. S. Hollender, Alternate

¹¹⁹ Gabriel Feigenbaum, Alternate

¹²⁰ Replacing Dr. Asher Isaacs

¹²¹ Mrs. Sam Goldman, Alternate

¹²² Mrs. Isidor Doppelt, Alternate

¹²³ Rabbi D. A. Jessurun Cardozo, Alternate

¹²⁴ Harry J. Weintraub, Alternate, Sunday February 17th and Monday, February 18th

¹²⁵ Replacing Leo Wolfson

¹²⁶ Replacing Charles Sonnenreich

¹²⁷ Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, Alternate

¹²⁸ Zelda Funk, Alternate

¹²⁹ Replacing Herman Shulman (Deceased)

¹³⁰ Replacing Dr. Solomon Goldman

BLOCS *and* GROUPS

at the THIRD SESSION *of the* AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

AND NUMBER OF DELEGATES REGISTERED IN EACH

| | Number of Delegates Present | Number of Delegates Absent |
|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>American Jewish Congress</i> | 65 | 34 |
| Including: American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Congress—Women's Division, American Federation for Polish Jews, Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations, Free Sons of Israel, Independent Order Brith Abraham, Independent Order Brith Sholom, Progressive Order of the West, United Galician Jews of America, United Romanian Jews of America. | | |
| 2. <i>B'nai B'rith</i> | 45 | 19 |
| 3. <i>Conservative Religious Group</i> | 15 | 5 |
| Including: United Synagogue of America, Rabbinical Assembly of America, National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs. | | |
| 4. <i>General Zionists</i> | 95 | 23 |
| Including: Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah —Women's Zionist Organization of America, B'nai Zion. | | |
| 5. <i>Independent Bloc</i> | 11 | 2 |
| 6. <i>Labor Zionist Bloc</i> | 40 | 8 |
| Including Poale Zion —Zeire Zion, Jewish National Workers' Alliance, Pioneer Women's Organization of America, League for Labor Palestine. | | |
| 7. <i>Non-Partisan Group</i> | 27 | 10 |
| 8. <i>Reform Religious Group</i> | 15 | 8 |
| Including: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods. | | |
| 9. <i>Religious National Orthodox Bloc</i> | 45 | 19 |
| Including: Mizrachi Organization of America, Mizrachi Women's Organization of America, Hapoel Hamizrachi of America, National Council of Young Israel, Rabbinical Council of America, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations—Women's Branch. | | |
| No designation | 4 | 1 |
| Total | 362 | 129 |
| Total number of delegates .. | 491 | |

OFFICERS *and* COMMITTEES
of the THIRD SESSION *of the* AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

PRAESIDIUM

Henry Monsky
Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath
Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
Prof. Hayim Fineman
Harold O. N. Frankel
J. George Fredman
Leon Gellman

Frank Goldman
Dr. Israel Goldstein
Louis Lipsky
Samuel Rothstein
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Alex F. Stanton
Dr. Stephen S. Wise

GENERAL COMMITTEE

LOUIS LIPSKY, *Chairman*

DR. MAURICE N. EISENDRATH, *Vice-Chairman*

MAURICE BISGYER, *Secretary*

Samuel E. Aronowitz
Rabbi David Aronson
Max Bressler
Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner
Samuel Caplan
Rabbi J. M. Charlop
Mrs. Bezalel Cohen
Rabbi Samuel Cooper
H. Ehrenreich
Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
Jane Evans
Dr. Simon Federbush
Dr. Abraham J. Feldman
Dr. Leon I. Feuer
Judge Harry M. Fisher
Pearl Franklin
J. George Fredman¹
Samuel H. Fromberg
William M. Gerber
Arnold R. Ginsburg
Leib Glantz
Frank Goldman
Dr. Israel Goldstein
Mrs. Israel Goldstein
Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin
Sidney L. Herold
Max A. Kopstein
Charles P. Kramer
Sidney G. Kusworm
Mrs. Arthur G. Laufman
Seymour R. Levine

Judge Louis E. Levinthal
Leo H. Lowitz
Jacob Marrus
Mrs. Albert J. May
Rabbi Irving Miller
Henry Monsky
Dr. Emanuel Neumann
Dr. Max Nussbaum
Mrs. Aron Osri
Judge Nathan D. Perlman
Dr. David Petegorsky
Abraham A. Redelheim
Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt
Samuel Rothstein
M. Morton Rubenstein
Leon Rubinstein
Rubin Saltzman
Benjamin Samuels
Samuel L. Sar
Ezra Z. Shapiro
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Simon E. Sobeloff
Alex F. Stanton
Hermann Stern
Rabbi Mordecai A. Stern
Robert Szold
Ralph Wechsler
Herman L. Weisman
David Wertheim
Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Chairmen of the Standing Committees were on the General Committee, *ex-officio*, with the right to participate in the discussion but without power to vote. These included:

Aaron Droock
Charles P. Kramer
Mortimer May

Rabbi Irving Miller
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

¹ Harry M. Ehrlich, alternate at General Committee Meetings on February 18th and 19th.

COMMITTEE on ORGANIZATION

MORTIMER MAY, *Chairman*

CONGRESSMAN HERMAN P. KOPPLEMANN *and* SIGMUND W. DAVID, *Vice-Chairman*

MRS. HARRY BERKMAN, *Secretary*

Jacob Alson
Oscar H. Altshuler
Mrs. Robert L. Aronson
Rabbi Benjamin G. Axelman
Joseph F. Barr
A. David Benjamin
Maurice Bernhardt
Mrs. Jules Blankfein
Mrs. Hugo Bloomfield
Abraham J. Brachman
Milly Brandt
Nathan H. Brodsky
Jacob Brown
Sol Burstein
Mrs. Bezalel Cohen
Mrs. David deSola Pool
Benjamin J. Doft
Dr. Nathan Drazin
Harry M. Ehrlich
Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath
Mrs. Ida Cook Farber
Mrs. Nathan B. Fischer
Julius Fisher
Mendel N. Fisher
Hyman J. Fliegel
Ernest S. Freudenheim
Samuel Friedman
Rabbi Joseph Gabriel
Charles Getzler
Jacob H. Gilbert
Louis I. Gilgor
Ben Zion Glass
Reuben Goldman
Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman
Nathaniel Greenbaum
Mordecai Halevi
Mrs. Joseph Hamerman
Mrs. Julian Hennig
Abraham Hofferma
Dr. S. S. Hollender
Morris Jick
Isadore Kagan
Albert E. Kahn

Samuel Kalesky
Mrs. Louis Kaufman
Rabbi Max Kirshblum
Israel Kramer
Louis Kranitz
Sarah Kussy
Samuel H. Landy
Eleanor Levenson
Mrs. Dorothy S. Levine
Seymour R. Levine
Mrs. M. J. Lewis
Samuel Markle
Dr. Sidney Marks
Jacob Marrus
Rabbi H. Leon Masovetsky
Judge Samuel Mellitz
Rabbi David W. Pearlman
Max Perlow
Dr. David Petegorsky
Harry A. Pine
Dr. Berthold S. Pollak
Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz
Aaron Riche
Judge David A. Rose
Maurice Rosenberg
Herzl Rosenson
Samuel Rothstein
Rubin Saltzman
Hon. Albert D. Schanzer
Hyman M. Seidelman
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Abraham Silver
Simon E. Sobeloff
Mrs. Simon E. Sobeloff
Dr. Saul Sokal
Abraham Spicehandler
Elijah Stein
Joseph Steir
Theodore Strimling
Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow
Joseph Talamo
Isidor Teitelbaum
Hon. Ruth Warters

COMMITTEE *on* PALESTINE

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, *Chairman*

Dr. Moses Barron
 Rabbi Solomon M. Barsel
 Rabbi Bernard Bergman
 Mrs. Jules Blankfein
 Meyer Brown
 Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
 Rabbi D. A. Jessurun Cardozo
 Rabbi Armond E. Cohen
 Rabbi Samuel Cooper
 Dr. Joseph Diamond
 Dr. Albert K. Epstein
 Dr. Louis M. Epstein
 Dr. Simon Federbush
 Irving Fellerman
 Dr. Leon I. Feuer
 Charles Frankel
 Harry A. Frankel
 Judge Joseph Fromberg
 Mrs. Julius Fryer
 Zelda Funk
 Rabbi Joel S. Geffen
 Leon Gellman
 Miriam Gingold
 Harry A. Glovsky
 Edward Goldburg
 Israel R. Goodman
 Morris Goodman
 Dr. Julius Gordon
 Archie H. Greenberg
 Hayim Greenberg
 Joel Gross
 Joseph Halbert
 Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin
 Rabbi Usher Kirshblum
 Philip M. Klutznick
 Abraham Krumbein
 Rabbi Philip A. Langh
 Benjamin George Leve
 Dr. Harris J. Levine
 Judge Louis E. Levinthal
 Mrs. Felix A. Levy
 Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein

Morris Margulies
 Mrs. H. Leon Masovetsky
 Herman Neaderland
 Dr. Emanuel Neumann
 Rabbi David W. Pearlman
 Dr. Alexander Pekelis
 A. Arthur Pekelner
 Rabbi Bernard A. Poupko
 Jacob Rabinovitz
 Mrs. Joseph Recht
 Rabbi Naftoly N. Riff
 Louis Rittenberg
 Aaron Rosenberg
 Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt
 Rabbi Rudolph M. Rosenthal
 M. Morton Rubenstein
 Jochanan I. Rudavsky
 Rabbi Henry A. Schorr
 Max C. Schrank
 Dr. Herman Seidel
 Rabbi David Shapiro
 Ezra Z. Shapiro
 Rabbi Max Shapiro
 Rabbi Solomon J. Sharfman
 Dr. Benjamin Shwadran
 William I. Siegel
 Rabbi Morris G. Silk
 Rabbi Ralph Silverstein
 Harry Simonhoff
 M. J. Slonim
 Rabbi Mordecai A. Stern
 Elihu D. Stone
 Charles Strull
 Robert Szold
 Mrs. Robert Szold
 Dr. Israel Tabak
 Mrs. A. H. Vixman
 Joseph Weingarten
 Rabbi Samuel Wohl
 Mrs. Benjamin I. Wolfson
 Rabbi Seymour M. Zambrowsky

COMMITTEE on POST-WAR PROBLEMS and RESCUE of EUROPEAN JEWRY

RABBI IRVING MILLER, *Chairman*

DR. SARA FEDER, *Secretary*

Isaac Abelson
Mrs. Arthur A. Barnett
Norman M. Beck
Leonard S. Becker
Mrs. Oscar G. Bender
Sam Berke
Rabbi Benjamin H. Birnbaum
Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom
Max Bressler
Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner
Jacob Brown
Howard A. Burman
Abe R. Cohen
Rabbi J. X. Cohen
Joseph Cohen
Philip Cohen
Mrs. Joseph B. Conway
Mrs. Estelle Dinkes
Nathan Dinkes
Max Doft
Mrs. Isidor Doppelt
Samuel Duker
Mrs. Joseph H. Ehrlich
Dr. Azriel Eisenberg
Hon. Mark Eisner
Rabbi Harry H. Epstein
Ad Estess
Jane Evans
J. Eugene Farber
Gabriel Feigenbaum
Dr. Abraham J. Feldman
Prof. Hayim Fineman
Rabbi Adolph H. Fink
Judge Harry M. Fisher
Jacob Fishman
Rabbi Jerome D. Folkman
Rabbi Leon Fram
Harold O. N. Frankel
Samuel H. Fromberg
William M. Gerber
Philip M. Gingold
Dr. B. Benedict Glazer
Hymen Goldman
Mrs. Samuel Goldstein
Mrs. Sonia Gordon
Rabbi Simon Greenberg
Louis J. Gribetz

Philmore J. Haber
Rabbi Abraham E. Halpern
Michael Hanin
Samuel Harber
Louis Harrison
Meyer Helfinstein
Rabbi Mayer I. Herman
Abraham Hollander
Rabbi Robert P. Jacobs
Reuben F. Jacobson
Louis Juren
Joseph Katcher
Rabbi C. Hillel Kauvar
Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman
Milton J. Krensky
Mrs. Mortimer J. Kroll
Dr. A. Leon Kubowitski
Jacob Leichtman
Abe I. Lemberg
Rabbi Moshe H. Levinson
Mrs. Louis E. Levinthal
Dr. Felix A. Levy
Mrs. Joseph H. Lookstein
Rabbi Max Maccoby
Mrs. Albert J. May
Samuel Melnick
Chaplain Israel Miller
Rabbi S. Morduchowitz
Herman Muller
Dr. Max Nussbaum
Max Ogust
Mrs. Ernest Peiser
Mrs. Nathan D. Perlman
Mrs. Dorothy Persky
Jefferson E. Peyser
Dr. C. Aaron Pinta
Chaplain W. Gunther Plaut
Dr. Joachim Prinz
Rabbi Hyman R. Rabinowitz
Rabbi Samuel A. Rabinowitz
William Rabkin
Abraham A. Redelheim
Rabbi Solomon Reichman
H. B. Ritman
Moishe Rivlin
Sam Roback
Dr. Louis Rosenblum

Charles Rosengarten
Herzl Rosenson
Louis Rosensweig
Mrs. Harry Rosenthal
Mrs. Louis A. Rosett
Sol Rosman
George D. Rossyn
Emil Rubenstein
Louis Sachs
Dr. David Sacks
Leo S. Samuels
George Sandler
Louis M. Sandler
Mrs. Irving J. Sands
Samuel L. Sar
Joseph Schlossberg
Mrs. Esther Ida Schmidt
Mrs. Anna Center Schneiderman
Bertha Schwartz
Julius Schweid
Joseph I. Seifert
Rabbi Isadore H. Shoulson

Mrs. Herman Shulman
Samuel I. Sievers
Rabbi Morris G. Silk
Archibald Silverman
Rabbi Morris Silverman
Rabbi Phineas Smoller
Mrs. Fannie Stanton
Michael A. Stavitsky
Adolph Stern
Rabbi Mordecai A. Stern
Dr. Israel Tabak
Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum
Mrs. Leon J. Tiber
Morris Weingrod
Herman L. Weisman
Aaron Weiss
Rabbi Saul E. White
Rabbi Aaron M. Wise
Rabbi Max J. Wohlgeleinter
Samuel Wolberg
Jack Wolfe

COMMITTEE *on* CREDENTIALS

CHARLES P. KRAMER, *Chairman*

Chaplain Morris Adler
Judge Jennie Loitman Barron
Leonard S. Becker
William P. Bloom
Samuel Bonchek
Frank Brown
Jesse Cohen
Henry Dubow
Harry M. Ehrlich
Mrs. Joseph H. Ehrlich
Harry S. Feller
I. L. Feuer
Hon. Samuel B. Finkel
Harry A. Frankel
Benjamin Friedman
Arthur Gilbert
Dr. Arthur Gladstone
Mrs. Rebecca Goldberg
David L. Goldenberg

Alexander Goodman
Mrs. Shoshana Greenberg
Rabbi Eugene Greenfield
Solomon Kerstein
David S. Landes
Rabbi Samuel Levenberg
Max Levy
Charles Mishkin
Abe Newman
Aaron Resnick
H. B. Ritman
Rabbi Ira E. Sanders
Irving W. Schlusell
Max J. Silverberg
Rabbi Louis Simsovitz
Mrs. Michael A. Stavitsky
Elijah Stein
N. Ben-Dov Waldman

COMMITTEE *on* BUDGET *and* FINANCE

AARON DROOCK, *Chairman*

ABRAHAM MACHINIST, *Vice-Chairman*

Mrs. Harry Berkman
Samuel Berson
Chaplain Ben Zion Bokser
Louis M. Brodie
Frank Brown
Walter Burke
Rudolf Callmann
Max Chafets
Oscar Chinich
Eli A. Cohen
Jacob Dobzinsky
Irvin Fane
J. Leo Feigenbaum
Gabriel Feigenbaum
Ned Goldberg
Edward Goldburg
Morris Goldsmith
William N. Gurtman
Jacob B. Hoffman
Jacob Ish-Kishor

S. Herbert Kaufman
Ruben H. Klainer
Sarah Kussy
David S. Landes
Max Levy
Dr. Abraham Margulis
Charles Mishkin
Mrs. Blanche Mogil
William Moldovan
Benjamin I. Morris
Aaron Riche
Alvin Rosenson
Rabbi Maxwell L. Sacks
Julius Schweid
Howard D. Seld
Emanuel Teitelbaum
John J. Untermann
Mrs. Hyman C. Weisman
Dr. William A. Wexler

INTERIM COMMITTEE ELECTED

by the THIRD SESSION

of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Rabbi Irving Miller
Judge Nathan D. Perlman
Simon E. Sobeloff
Mrs. Stephen S. Wise

Dr. Moses Barron
Max A. Kopstein
Harold O. N. Frankel
Hermann Stern
Rubin Saltzman

B'NAI B'RITH

Henry Monsky
Frank Goldman
Mrs. Ida Cook Farber

Maurice Bisgyer
Sidney G. Kusworm
Benjamin Samuels

CONSERVATIVE RELIGIOUS GROUP

Dr. Robert Gordis

Samuel Rothstein

GENERAL ZIONIST GROUP

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Dr. Israel Goldstein
Louis Lipsky
Dr. Emanuel Neumann
Judge Louis E. Levinthal
Judge Morris Rothenberg

Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin
Daniel Frisch
Robert Szold
Ezra Z. Shapiro
Harry A. Pine

INDEPENDENT BLOC

Alex F. Stanton

LABOR ZIONIST BLOC

Dr. A. Leon Kubowitski
Dvorah Rothbard
Louis Segal

Ralph Wechsler
David Wertheim

NON-PARTISAN GROUP

Mrs. Joseph M. Welt
J. George Fredman

Harry M. Ehrlich
Edgar J. Kaufmann

REFORM RELIGIOUS GROUP

Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath

Charles P. Kramer

RELIGIOUS NATIONAL ORTHODOX BLOC

Leon Gellman
Dr. Simon Federbush
Edward S. Silver

Dr. Samuel Nirenstein
Mrs. Samuel Goldstein
Rabbi William Drazin

The Conference reaffirmed the decision made at the Second Session to authorize the Interim Committee to name not more than fifteen members-at-large.

INDEX

INDEX

- American Jewish Congress, 214, 222
 American Jewish Congress Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
 American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 31, 183-184, 243
 American Jewish Labor Council, *see* Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity
 American Military Government, 152, 154, 161
 American Scene, 19, 55, 107, 117, 118, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 208-209
 American Zionist Emergency Council, 201
 Anglo-American Inquiry Committee on Palestine, 24, 29-32, 45, 52, 53, 56, 70-86, 131-132, 134, 159
 Argentina, Jewish Community of, 28
 Aronowitz, Samuel E., 92-93, 94, 211, 212
 Aronson, David, 199
 Aronson, Mrs. Robert L., 217
 Attlee, Clement R., 45, 131
- Balfour, Arthur James, 132
 Balfour Declaration, 26, 30, 31, 33, 73, 74, 132-133, 136
 Barr, Joseph F., 213
 Berkman, Mrs. Harry, 216, 280
 Bernstein, Bernard, 161-169
 Bessarabian Federation of American Jews, 69, 196, 210-211
 Bevin, Ernest, 76, 132-133
 Bisgyer, Maurice, 193, 213, 215, 279
 Bloomfield, Mrs. Hugo, 217
 B'nai B'rith Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
 Board of Deputies of British Jews, 23, 25, 27-28, 42, 48, 56-57, 183, 242
 Brandt, Milly, 218
 Bressler, Max, 211
 Brickner, Barnett R., 205-206
 British Government, Foreign Office, 72, 132, 134, 168; Mandate, 26, 45, 72, 74, 133, 135, 136
- British Labor Party, 41, 71, 131
 Brodsky, Nathan H., 222, 223
Bulletin, American Jewish Conference, 181, 227
- Call to Pittsburgh Meeting, 21-22, 58, 112, 113, 186
 Canadian Jewish Congress, 28
 Caplan, Jonah E., 93-94
 Chaplains, 51, 172-173
 Co-Chairmen, discussion on number of, 223
 Cohen, Joseph, 122
 Committee on Budget and Finance, 178-182, 227, 284
 Committee on Credentials, 68, 195-196, 226-227, 284
 Committee on Organization, at Second Session, 221-222; at Third Session, 89-90, 216-225, 280
 Committee on Palestine, 159-160, 226, 281
 Committee on Post-War Problems and Rescue of European Jewry, 175-177, 183-185, 226, 282-283
 Committees, rules of procedure on, 262
 Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF), 29
 Conservative Religious Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
 Council of Liberated Jews in Germany, 154
 Crum, Bartley, 134-135
- David, Sigmund W., 218, 219, 223, 280
 Delegates, number of in each City and Region, 264-267; rules of procedure on election of, 260-261
 Denazification, 166, 242
 deSola Pool, Mrs. David, 193, 197, 217-218, 219, 224

- Displaced Persons, 28, 31, 33, 40, 51-53, 54, 135, 142, 170-173, 237
- Droock, Aaron, 178-179, 181, 227, 284
- Eisendrath, Maurice N., 13-17, 112-115, 193, 206, 214, 215, 219, 279
- Elections to American Jewish Conference, 217, 218, 220-222
- Epstein, Mrs. Moses P., 69-87
- Evans, Jane, 176, 193, 194, 215
- Executive Committee, 4, 33
- Feder, Sara, 119, 176, 185, 226, 282
- Federation of Palestine Jews, 69, 196, 210, 211
- Fineman, Hayim, 47-49, 100-101, 102-103
- Fisher, Harry M., 90, 91, 94-95, 104, 194, 202, 206
- Fleishman, Alfred, 145, 156, 226
- Fredman, J. George, 194
- Frisch, Daniel, 196
- Future Organization, *see also* Permanency, 34-35, 88-124, 197-210, 212-213, 217-219, 224-225, 231-232
- General Committee, 193-215, 279
- General Zionist Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
- Gilgor, Louis I., 219
- Ginsburg, Arnold R., 90-91, 212
- Glantz, Leib, 204
- Glass, Ben Zion, 223
- Goldman, Frank, 194-195
- Goldstein, Israel, 50-59, 197, 200, 206, 208, 220
- Greenbaum, Nathaniel, 221, 223
- Greenberg, Hayim, 77
- Grinberg, Zalman, 145-158
- Groups, number of delegates in each, 277; rules of procedure on formation of, 262
- Halprin, Mrs. Samuel W., 159, 196, 197-198, 209, 226
- Harrison, Earl G., 31, 45, 51, 72
- Heller, James G., 109-112
- Herzl, Theodor, 125, 144
- Howarth, Herbert, 141-142
- Independent Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
- Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 31, 44
- Interim Committee, 3, 33-34, 42, 160, 188, 231, 285; co-options to, 188, 190, 213
- International Bill of Rights, 23-24, 25, 241
- Jackson, Robert H., 61, 62, 63-64, 67
- Jarcho, Mrs. J. R., 227
- Jewish Agency for Palestine, 23, 24, 26, 28, 42, 48
- Jewish Brigade, 51
- Jewish National Home, 31
- Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, 215
- Jewish Representation, 29, 56, 175-176, 183, 242
- Jewish State, 30, 32, 49, 77, 129, 130
- Jewish Veterans, 190, 194, 213
- Joint Committee, 23, 24-25, 28, 42
- Joint Secretariat, 28-29, 42
- Judenstaat*, 125
- Kenen, I. L., 180, 206, 210
- Klausner, Abraham, 156, 172-173
- Klutznick, Philip M., 115-117
- Kohanski, Alexander S., 43
- Koppelman, Herman P., 216, 280
- Kopstein, Max A., 204-205
- Kramer, Charles P., 206, 226, 284
- Kussy, Sarah, 180-181
- Labor Zionist Group, 176, 214; number of delegates adhering to, 277
- Levine, Seymour R., 219, 223
- Liaison Officers, 27, 31
- Lipsky, Louis, 4, 36-46, 68-69, 123, 193, 194, 197, 206, 223, 279
- Livingston, Sigmund, 216
- Lookstein, Joseph H., 169-174
- Lowdermilk, Walter Clay, 81-82
- Lowitz, Leo H., 103-104, 123, 200
- Machinist, Abraham, 227, 284
- Margulies, Morris, 101-102

- Markle, Samuel, 190, 217, 218, 219
 May, Mrs. Albert J., 215
 May, Mortimer, 88-90, 180, 216, 280
 Message to Youth of Palestine, by American Jewish Conference, 174, 182
 Mexico, Jewish Community of, 28
 Miller, Irving, 175-177, 185, 194, 197, 206, 208, 226, 282
 Minority Rights, 41
 Mishkin, Charles, 68, 226-227
 Monsky, Henry, 3, 20-36, 186-188, 195-196, 197, 202-204, 206, 213, 214, 221

 Nathan, Robert, 78-80, 81
 National Council of Jewish Women, 215
 Neumann, Emanuel, 76, 77
 New Organizations, admission of, 68-69, 195-196, 210-211
 Non-Partisan Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
 Nussbaum, Max, 210, 214

 Organizations, discussion on presentation of statements by, 214-215; participating in the Third Session, 259

 Palestine, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31-33, 44-45, 53-54, 70, 127, 144, 150, 233-236
 Palestine Resolution of American Jewish Conference, adopted at First Session, 29, 31-32
 Palestine Resolutions of United States Congress, 30, 44-45, 134, 136, 137-138, 142-143
 Peace Conference, 28, 238
 Pearlman, David W., 217
 Perlman, Nathan D., 43
 Permanency of American Jewish Conference, *see also* Future Organization, 19-20, 35-36, 55, 57, 90, 93, 106-108, 121-122
 Petegorsky, David, 214, 222
 Peyser, Jefferson E., 95-96, 98-99, 119-120, 121-122
 Pittsburgh Proposals, 27, 33, 203, 208, 221, 224
 Plaut, W. Gunther, 190

 Praesidium, 17, 104-105, 194, 278
 President of the United States, *see* Harry S. Truman

 Rabinowitz, Stanley, 218
 Reform Religious Group, number of delegates adhering to, 277
 Religious National Orthodox Group, 218; number of delegates adhering to, 277
 Reparations, 28, 42, 43-44, 161-163, 175, 239-240
 Rescue, 48, 70
 Resolutions, British Terror, 235; Budget and Finance, 179, 182, 244; Cable to Anglo-American Inquiry Committee, 159, 236; Future of the Conference, 231-232; Greetings to the Yishuv, 159, 234-235; Human Rights, 241; Interim Committee, 231; Jewish Representation on UNO and UNO Agencies, 175-176, 183, 242; Jewish Rights to Palestine, 233-234; Liaison with Relief Organizations, 243; Organization, 88-89, 223-224, 231-232; Palestine, *see also* Palestine Resolution, 159, 214-215, 233-236; Peace Treaties, 238-239; Plight of Children, 241-242; Post-War Reconstruction, 175-177, 237-243; Refugees, 237-238; Reparations, Restitution and Compensation, 175, 239-240; rules on presentation of, 262-263; Safeguarding the Peace, 242; Transjordan, 235; Trial of Ex-Mufti, 236
 Riche, Aaron, 218, 223
 Rifkind, Simon H., 51, 173-174
 Rivlin, Moishe, 69
 Robinson, Jacob, 43, 59-67
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 23, 130, 136, 164
 Roper Poll, 30
 Rosenson, Herzl, 218
 Roster of Delegates, 247-256, 268-276
 Rothstein, Samuel, 195, 196, 201, 224, 227
 Rubenstein, M. Morton, 201
 Rules of Procedure of Third Session, 46, 193, 260-263

- Saltzman, Rubin, 199, 211
 Sar, Samuel L., 145, 156, 226
 Schwartz, Bertha, 219
 Schwartz, Dr. Joseph, 31, 75-76
 Secretariat, 194
 Shapiro, Ezra Z., 17-20, 106-107, 201-202
 Sherman, David, 196, 227
 Shulman, Herman, 26, 188-189
 Sievers, Samuel I., 218, 219
 Silver, Abba Hillel, 73, 97-98, 117-119, 129-145, 226, 281
 Sobeloff, Simon E., 213
 Sokal, Saul, 218
 Spicehandler, Abraham, 100-101
 Stanton, Alex F., 107-108, 198-199, 212, 215, 221
 State Department of the United States, 47, 134, 136
 Stern, Hermann, 201
 Strimling, Theodore, 217, 218
 Subcommittee on Resolutions, 194-195
 Swichkow, Louis J., 218

 Teitelbaum, Isidor, 219, 223
 Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity, 69, 195-196
 Transjordan, 40, 141, 235

 Truman, Harry S., 44-45, 52, 72, 131, 136-137, 142
 Trusteeship, 24, 25, 26, 32

 Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 114, 214, 215
 U. S. S. R., 138-141
 United Nations, 40, 128, 175-176
 United Nations Charter, 23
 United Nations Conference on International Organization, 22-23, 25-27, 40
 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), 27, 28, 42

 Wahl, David R., 179
 War Crimes, 28, 43, 60-67
 Wertheim, David, 214
 White Paper on Palestine, 30, 32, 45, 47, 54, 71, 130, 131
 Wise, Stephen S., 3, 69, 75, 125-129, 189, 212, 214, 215, 220
 World Jewish Congress, 23, 25, 27-28, 42, 43, 47, 48, 56, 183, 242

 Yishuv, 59, 127, 155

 Zionism, 73, 75, 143

